

UNIVERSITY OF ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE



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THE LIVES OF THE POPES

VOL. XI.

LIVES OF THE POPES IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

BY THE

REV. HORACE K. MANN, D.D.

Demy 8vo. Vol. I. in Two Parts. Vols. IV.-XII. are illustrated.

Father Mann starts his *magnum opus* at the Pontificate of St. Gregory the Great. The work embraces the following volumes: I.—The Popes under the Lombard Rule; II. and III.—The Popes during the Carolingian Empire; IV. and V.—The Popes in the Days of Feudal Anarchy; VI. to VIII.—The Popes of the Gregorian Renaissance; IX., X., etc.—The Popes at the height of their Temporal Influence, 1130-1305.

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REV. HORACE K. MANN, D.D.

"De gente Anglorum, qui maxime familiares Apostolicæ Sedis semper
existunt" (*Gesta Abb. Fontanel. A.D. 747-752, ap. M.G. SS. II. 289*).

HEAD MASTER OF ST. CUTHBERT'S GRAMMAR SCHOOL, NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE
CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF HISTORY OF SPAIN



THE POPES AT THE HEIGHT OF THEIR TEMPORAL INFLUENCE

INNOCENT II. TO BLESSED BENEDICT XI.

1130-1305

(A) THE POPES AND THE HOHENSTAUFEN, 1130-1271

VOL. XI.—INNOCENT III., 1198-1216

SECOND EDITION

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1925

To
HIS EMINENCE
CARDINAL MERRY DEL VAL
SECRETARY OF STATE
TO
POPE PIUS X
THIS BIOGRAPHY
OF
ONE OF THE GREATEST OF THE ROMAN PONTIFFS
Is respectfully Dedicated
BY
THE AUTHOR
IN MEMORY OF HAPPY USHAW DAYS
IN THE YEARS
OF
LONG AGO

A LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS VOLUME.

Jaffé, or Regesta . . .	=	<i>Regesta Pontificum Romanorum</i> , ed. Jaffé, 2nd ed., Lipsiæ, 1885.
Potthast . . .	=	<i>Regesta Pontificum Romanorum</i> , ed. A. Potthast, 2 vols., Berlin, 1874.
Labbe . . .	=	<i>Sacrosancta Concilia</i> , ed. Labbe and Cossart, Paris, 1671.
L. P., <i>Anastasius</i> , or the Book of the Popes }	=	<i>Liber Pontificalis</i> , 2 vols., ed. L. Duchesne, Paris, 1886.
M. G. H., or Pertz . . .	=	<i>Monumenta Germaniæ Historica</i> either <i>Scriptores</i> (M. G. SS.) or <i>Epistolæ</i> (M. G. Epp.) or <i>Poetæ</i> (M. G. PP.).
P. G. . . .	=	<i>Patrologia Græca</i> , ed. Migne, Paris.
P. L. . . .	=	<i>Patrologia Latina</i> , ed. Migne, Paris.
R. I. SS. . . .	=	<i>Rerum Italicarum Scriptores</i> , ed. Muratori, Milan, 1723 ff.
R. F. SS. . . .	=	<i>Recueil des Historiens des Gaules</i> , ed. Bouquet and others, Paris, 1738 ff.
R. S., following an edition of a book }	=	The edition of the Chronicles, etc., published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls.

The sign † placed before a date indicates that the date in question is the year of the death of the person after whose name the sign and date are placed.

The sign * placed before the title of a book indicates that the author of these volumes has seen the book in question well spoken of, but has not had the opportunity of examining it himself.

PREFACE.

IT was stated on a previous page of this work that, with the approach of the thirteenth century, the amount of material available for the history of the Popes becomes so great that it is impossible to treat, within reasonable limits, of their relations with all the different countries with which they came in contact. It was, therefore, further stated that, apart from special circumstances, attention would in the future have, for the most part, to be confined to the unfolding of papal intercourse with the Empire and with the British Isles.

An exception has, however, been made in the case of Innocent III., in order to try to bring out, by the example of perhaps its most distinguished member, what was the position of the Papacy in mediæval Christendom. By the development of his biography at some length it is hoped to show that, whilst the government of Europe rested on feudal principles, it was upheld, "in theory at least," by "a supreme regulating force in the authority of the Head of the Church."¹ During that period, the Papacy, as Innocent expressed it, was "the foundation of the whole of Christendom";² and it is indeed the fact that "the administrative all-controlling monarchy of Gregory VII., Innocent III., and Boniface VIII. was a necessary and inevitable consequence of the conditions of the times."³

¹ Maine, *Ancient Law*, p. 110, 3rd ed., London, 1866.

² Ep. i. 401.

³ Dean Church, *Miscellaneous Essays*, p. 209; cf. p. 214, London, 1888.

It gives me great pleasure to acknowledge the help I have again received in the production of this biography from my friends C. Hart, Esq., B.A., and F. F. Urquhart, Esq., M.A.

H. K. MANN.

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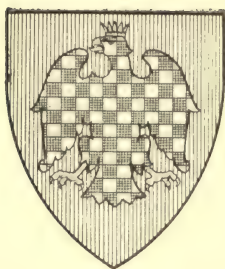
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Gules an eagle displayed chequy or and sable
membered and crowned of the first.

INNOCENT III.

A.D. 1198-1216.



Sources.—With the pontificate of Innocent III. a new era begins, at least with regard to the materials available for papal biographies; for it is with his pontificate that the series (practically unbroken) of papal Registers begins.¹ Although one or two of the more insignificant Registers, *e.g.*, those of Celestine IV., Innocent V., and St. Celestine V., are lost, and although some of them are incomplete, we have for a period of four hundred years what may fairly be called a continuous record of the documents issued by the papal chancery. Unfortunately, among the incomplete Registers we have to class that of Innocent III. Volumes four, seventeen, and eighteen of his Register, each containing the documents for the corresponding years of his pontificate, are lost, and the volume containing the documents of the third year of his pontificate has only come down to us in a fragmentary condition. Still, some three thousand seven hundred and two documents proceeding from Innocent's chancery have been preserved for us in the extant volumes of his Register. It must not, however, be supposed that, even if Innocent's Register was intact, we should be in possession of all the documents which his notaries had engrossed (*litteræ redactæ in grossam litteram*). Unhappily,

¹ *Cf.* on the papal Registers *supra*, vol. i. pt. i. 304 ff. Innocent himself quotes letters "de Regestis nostris," ep. ix. 184.

it was not the custom of the papal chancery to register all the letters which it issued. Although it is not known upon what principle documents were registered,¹ it is certain that many very important ones were never copied into the Registers at all.² Hence Potthast,³ who continued the work of Jaffé, was able to give a list of five thousand three hundred and sixteen of Innocent's letters and privileges, and hundreds more have been since discovered in various archives, and published by Cardinal Pitra, Delisle, Hampe, Kehr, and others.⁴ The Register of Innocent has been published several times in a more or less complete form, and more or less accurately; but a new edition of it, carefully compared with the Vatican MSS., and with the other known letters of the Pope added to it, is much needed. The best available edition is that of the Abbé Migne, which in four volumes (tt. 214-7, *Pat.*

¹ In the days of Innocent III., private persons could procure the registration of papal letters, for we know that this was done by Giraldus Cambrensis. He was not only allowed to examine the Register of Eugenius III., but "tres litteras commissorias . . . in registro P. Innocentii . . . ad perpetuam rei memoriam poni fecit." He then proceeds to describe a Register: "Registrum autem facit papa quilibet, hoc est, librum ubi transcripta privilegiorum omnium et litterarum suarum super arduis causis continentur." *De Giraldo Menevensi*, ap. *Op.*, i. p. 398, R.S. At least in the time of John XXII. (1316), if not before, a fixed charge was made for the registering of letters at the petition of private persons. Cf. Delisle, *Mém. sur les actes d'Innocent III.*, p. ii.

² Among the illustrations in this volume will be found a facsimile of a letter (March 18, 1220) from the Register of Honorius III. addressed to Pandulf, bishop-elect of Norwich (ap. Pressutti, *Reg. Hon.*, i. p. 392, n. 2364), in which it is stated that a certain privilege could not be found in the Papal registers: "quamvis privilegium istud in Regestis quesitum non potuerit inveniri." And yet the said privilege—a charter of Nicholas II., addressed to Giso, bishop of Wells, and dated Rome, April 25, 1061, ap. Jaffé, *Regest. Pont.*, n. 4457—is still preserved at Wells. Through the kindness of Dean Armitage Robinson and Father T. W. Morton, I was able to procure a photograph of Nicholas' charter, and I have had it copied for this volume. The document is recognised as presenting "a very beautiful and valuable example of Italian writing of the time."

³ *Regesta Pont. Rom.*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1874. His work extends from 1198-1304.

⁴ Cf. Pitra, *De epp. Rom. Pont.*, p. 179.

Lat.) furnishes us with over four thousand documents printed *in extenso*. It is the edition which we shall use ourselves.¹

Since the gift of Lord Ashburnham to the late glorious Pontiff Leo XIII. (1885) of a volume of Innocent's Register,² the extant manuscript portion of it in the Vatican library has been contained in six volumes. Like the other Registers of the thirteenth century which have come down to us, these volumes are of parchment, and are beautifully written; and, though they are apparently not the original volumes which were drawn up by the papal *scriptores*, they are for the most part contemporary copies.³ They have also their margins illustrated with arabesque designs, with drawings of animals, and occasionally of human figures, as our portrait of Innocent from his Register shows.

An indication and a not unnatural result of the existing Registers of Innocent III. being only copies of the original Registers is that it seems to be certain that some letters were in the original Registers which do not appear in the extant ones. The letters which Giraldus tells us that he caused to be registered, and which it appears from Roger of Hoveden⁴ ought to be found among the letters of the year 1199, are not to be discovered in Innocent's Registers at all. Similarly, Innocent himself cites a letter as extant "in the second Book of the Registers," which is not to be found there.⁵

Although, as we have stated elsewhere, the letters of each year were normally collected into one volume, the Register of Innocent

¹ Migne's edition is far from accurate; but it has been compared with the Vatican MSS., and partly corrected, by Luchaire, who has given the result of his labours in the *Bibliothèque de la Faculté des Lettres*, No. xvii., *Troisièmes Mélanges d'Hist. du Moyen Age*, p. 1 ff., Paris, 1904.

² It contained the letters of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth years of his pontificate.

³ The MS. vol. numbered viii., containing the letters of the thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth years of Innocent's reign, was, however, only written in the pontificate of Urban V. (1366-7), who ordered the transcription of the papal Registers.

⁴ *Chron.*, an. 1199, iv. p. 106, R.S., and note 1 on page 2.

⁵ Reg., vi. 62. Cf. Delisle, *Actes*, p. 6, for this and another letter (October 31, 1214) which refers back to "our Register of the second year."

proves that, exceptionally at least, a special portfolio was formed of documents on some important subject. Hence his Register furnishes us with a *Registrum de negotio Romani Imperii* (ap. *P. L.*, t. 216) down to the coronation of the Emperor Otho IV. in 1209. We shall cite it as *Reg. I*.¹ On the importance of Innocent's Register not merely for the history of his own career, but for the history of every nation in Europe, there is no need to dilate. So valuable is it, that, according to Luchaire, no matter under what aspect it may be studied, the result of such study will be a gain to learning and to every medieval scholar.²

It remains to be stated that the papal chancellery to which Innocent gave so much attention, generally fixed March 25 as the beginning of the year, and appended to his bulls the device, "Fac mecum Domine signum in bonum."³

The *Gesta Innocentii* is the next most important authority for the biography of Innocent III., of that Innocent who "during a pontificate of eighteen years directed the affairs of Christendom with a loftiness of aim, a surety of view, a firmness, and a love of justice which must win the admiration of every impartial man."⁴ The biographer of such a man may be easily forgiven if, carried away by his hero's great achievements, for which he can scarcely find space, he does not notice his comparatively insignificant failures, or occasionally exaggerates the ease with which some of his successes were gained. At any rate, the anonymous author of the *Gesta* has given us the best contemporary papal biography which we have hitherto met with. Unfortunately, so well has he preserved his incognito that we know nothing of him except that he was a contemporary Roman

¹ E. Tuček in *Quellenstudien aus dem historischen Seminar der Universität Innsbruck*, ii. Heft, Innsbruck, 1910, has made a study of this *Reg. I*.

² This was realised quite independently by our countryman the Rev. J. B. Pearson, D.D., who in consequence "printed for private circulation," 1911, *A Tabular Index to his Letters, Briefs, and Instructions*, and very kindly presented me with a copy.

³ In addition to the authorities already cited on Innocent's Registers, see the article *Regesta* in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*; Rocquain, *La Papauté au Moyen Age*, p. 378 ff., Paris, 1881; and Pressutti, *I Regesti de' Romani Pontefici*, p. 17 ff., Rome, 1874.

⁴ *Actes*, p. 1.

cleric in close touch with Innocent. He would appear to have died before the Pope (as his account of him breaks off suddenly some time before the Pope's death), and to have written in the year 1208. As he frequently quotes and uses public documents, he may have been connected with the papal chancery. By these monuments he displays the world-wide relations of the Papacy; but he devotes his most special attention to the affairs of Sicily and of the City. The *Gesta* may be read at the beginning of t. 214, *Pat. Lat.*

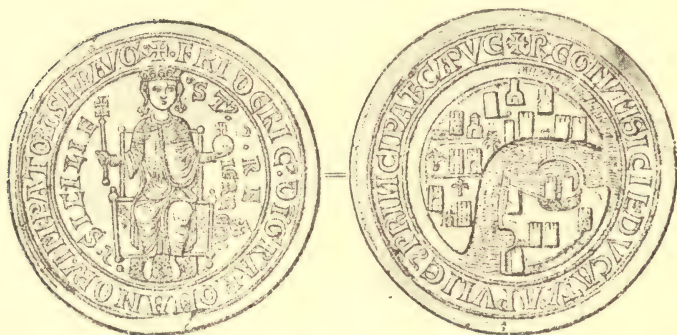
Modern Works.—A very great many authors have written on Innocent III., as a glance at Chevalier's *Bio-Bibliographie*, or Cerroti's *Bibliografia di Roma*, will show. But the book which first put in their true light the noble character and the grand work of Innocent III., and which has served as the foundation of all subsequent biographies of him of any value, is the *Geschichte P. Innocenz III. und seiner Zeittgenossen*, Hamburg, 1834 and subsequently, of the once Zwinglian minister, F. Hurter (*b.* March 19, 1787). His work, the result of twenty years of labour, brought to its author persecution from his Protestant Swiss fellow-countrymen, a European reputation, and the Catholic faith. It has been several times translated into Italian and French. We have used the French translation of A. de Saint-Chéron and J. B. Haiber, 2 vols., Brussels, 1839, which was made from the second German edition, and which, according to Hurter himself, was better than the original German edition, owing to additions which had been made to it. The most recent important work on "one of the greatest men of whom history has ever spoken"¹ is that in six small volumes by A. Luchaire, Paris, 1904 ff. The biography of Luchaire is better arranged than that of Hurter, and its author has availed himself of the sources and works which have been published since Hurter's death. But it is much to be regretted that he has not made it clear by the use of foot-notes what is at least really new in his book. Certain articles, however, which he has published in the *Séances et Travaux de l'Académie des Sciences morales et politiques*, and other periodicals, make up, to some extent, for this deficiency. Without professing to agree with all Luchaire's judgments, we believe his work

¹ Hurter, i. p. ii.

to be impartially and certainly attractively written. *Innocent the Great*, by C. H. C. Pirie-Gordon, London, 1907, is an essay, set forth at times in somewhat fantastic language, but especially useful for the number of tables appended to it. Among the works which treat of the struggles between the Popes and the Emperors generally, we would again call attention to the able little work of M. Balzani, *The Popes and the Hohenstaufen*, London, 1889; and to Cherrier, *Histoire de la lutte des Papes et des Empereurs*, 3 vols., Paris, 1858.

The other bibliographical notes which we wish to give will be divided among, and prefixed to, the five books into which we purpose to divide our biography of the Pope who made perhaps the grandest effort to realise the idea of the Medieval Papacy as the guiding star of the destinies of Christendom.¹

¹ Cf. the language of Dr. A. Potthast in a notice of his *Regesta RR. PP.*, ap. Pitra, *l.c.*, pp. 171-2.



A Golden Bulla of Frederick II., Emperor, and King of Sicily. The reverse is thought to portray either the kingdom of the Two Sicilies in general, or the Straits of Messina in particular,

BOOK I.

INNOCENT HIMSELF; ROME; ITALY AND SICILY.

Sources.—In connection with the chronicles already mentioned, we would again call attention to the Chronicle of Richard of San Germano and to that of the anonymous Cistercian¹ monk, both of which have been published together by Gaudenzi, Naples, 1888. The first, a notary of Frederick II., wrote the best account we possess of the affairs of southern Italy and Sicily from the death of William the Good (1189) to the year 1254. The anonymous monk also wrote during the reign of Frederick. His chronicle extends from 781 to 1228. His work, however, becomes of value only from the end of the twelfth century, when he no doubt began to utilise his own reminiscences or those of others with whom he came in contact. Some of the later strictly local chronicles of Italy, which often contain extracts from works now lost (such as that of Viterbo),² occasionally throw some light on matters touched on by the *Gesta* or by the letters of Innocent.

¹ Of the abbey of our Lady of Ferraria in the Terra di Lavoro; hence his chronicle is sometimes known as *Chronica S. Mariæ de Ferraria*.

² *Cron.*, 1080-1450. It was the work of Frate Francesco di Andrea of Viterbo, who appears to have died *c.* 1455. He becomes original when he reaches 1394, while before that he had made great use of the chronicle of Lanzillotto, who lived in the first half of the thirteenth century. Speaking of events of the year 1243 (p. 308, ed. Egidi), Francesco says that his authority for his statements is "lo ante dicto Lanzillotto . . . che li vidde con li ochi soi; et l'ò scrittè io frate Francesco, ricavate d' uno libro scripto de sua propria mano, di bella lettera antica." From p. 326 it appears that the work of Lanzillotto finished with the year 1254, "e qui fo fine alle croniche del dicto L." I quote from the ed. of the *Le croniche di Viterbo* by P. Egidi, ap. *Archivio della Soc. Rom. di stor. patria*, vol. xxiv. (1901).

Many documents relating to Innocent's dealings (1) with Rome and the Patrimony will be found in Theiner, *Codex diplom. domin. temp. S. Sedis*, vol. i. p. 28 ff., and in the *Liber Censuum*, ed. Fabre, *pass.*; and (2) with the kingdom of the Two Sicilies in the magnificent *Historia diplomatica Friderici Secundi* of Huillard-Bréholles in six volumes, each in two parts, Paris, 1852 ff.

Works.—Cf. Miley, *Hist. of the Papal States*, iii. ch. 3. The histories of various Italian cities which are now being published in this country may usefully be read in conjunction with the *Lives* of the Popes of this age, e.g., *A Hist. of Perugia*, by W. Heywood, London, 1909. T. L. Kington's *Hist. of Frederick II.*, 2 vols., London, 1862, treats well and at length of Innocent's relations with the little Frederick and his kingdom of the Two Sicilies; as does also Huillard-Bréholles in his *Recherches sur l'hist. des Normands dans l'Italie mérid.*, Paris, 1844, and in his *Introduction* to his *Histor. Diplom.* But the latest English work on Frederick II. (*Stupor Mundi: The Life and Times of Frederick II.*, London, 1912), by L. Allshorn, is a work without a preface, introduction, or notes. It may be described as an inexact abridgment, without acknowledgment, of Kington. How far Mr. Allshorn is competent to deal with any great man may be easily gauged from the following (p. 49): "The successful medieval Pope was a creature of sterile heart and petrified humanity, expediency his only guide, the aggrandisement of the Papal power his single purpose." Besides Luchaire's *Innocent III., Rome et l'Italie* (vol. i.), see his *l'Avènement d'Innocent III.*, ap. *Séances . . . de l'Académie*, 1902, p. 669; *Innocent III. et les ligues de Toscane et de Lombardie*, ap. *ib.*, 1904, p. 490; *Innocent III. et le peuple romain*, ap. *Rev. Historique*, 1903, p. 225 ff. We may say once for all that we have derived the greatest assistance from all Luchaire's works.

CHAPTER I.

INNOCENT'S FAMILY AND EARLY CAREER. HIS ELECTION. HIS AIMS, VIEWS, AND WRITINGS.

OF the manner of man who succeeded the aged Celestine, another great man, a contemporary sovereign, shall tell. James I. of Aragon, the Conqueror, or in Catalan, the language in which he loved to write, En Jacme lo Conqueridor (1213-1270), wrote the *Chronicles of Aragon*. In them he tells us that "that apostolic Pope Innocent was the best of Popes. For a hundred years before the time that I am writing this book, there had not been so good a Pope in all the Church of Rome; for he was a good clerk in that sound learning that a Pope should have; and he had a good natural sense, and a great knowledge of the things of this world."¹

This best of Popes, this man who, according to the Aragonese monarch, had both the simplicity of the dove and the wisdom of the serpent, was the son of a Latin noble, Trasimund of Segni, and of a Roman mother, Claricia (Clarissa).² On his father's side he belonged to the distinguished family afterwards known as the *Conti*, generally accounted "one of the four oldest and noblest families of Italy," sharing the honour with the Colonna, Orsini, and Gaetani. From Innocent III. to Inno-

¹ *Chron. Jac. Arag.*, c. x., Eng. trans. by Don P. de Gayangos.

² *Gesta*, c. I. "De comitibus Signiæ." From having been for so long counts (*Conti*) of, or in, the Campagna, Innocent's family became known about this time as the *Conti*. Gregorovius has shown that there was a *county* of Campania and a count of Segni as early as the tenth century: *Rome*, v. pt. i. p. 6, n.

cent XIII., the last Pope of the Conti family, this family has given to the Church no less than thirteen Popes. It has, moreover, produced "three antipopes, forty cardinals, a queen of Antioch and Tripoli (Luciana Conti, wife of Boemond V.), seven prefects of Rome, five senators, and thirteen leaders of armies, all valiant and worthy chevaliers, like the Torquato Conti and his son Innocenzo, who so distinguished himself in the defence of Prague against the Swedes."¹ And, what is specially to our purpose at present, it must be noted that, out of the thirteen Conti Popes, three of them (Innocent III., Gregory IX., and Alexander IV.) in the course of about sixty years took up the struggle against the Hohenstaufen.

On his mother's side Innocent was descended from the noble Roman family of the Scotti,² who had their towers in the Arenula quarter, gave their name to the adjoining church of S. Benedetto in Arenula³ (now Trinità del Pellegrini), and during the twelfth century at least gave distinguished men to their city.⁴

Lothaire or Lothario Conti (Innocent III.), who was born in 1160 or 1161 at castrum Gavignano,⁵ was not an only child. He had at least two brothers—Richard, whom he made count of Sora, and John, cardinal-deacon of S. Maria in Cosmedin⁶—and a sister. John of Anagni,

¹ Lanciani, *Wanderings in the Roman Campagna*, p. 207 f., and p. 213.

² *Gesta*, c. 135.

³ Cf. *supra*, vol. x. p. 385 f.

⁴ Gregorovius, *Rome*, v. pt. i. p. 6, n.

⁵ *Gesta*, c. 3, for Innocent's age; *Catal. pont. Viterb.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxii. p. 351, for place of birth.

⁶ Richard, the *germanus* of Innocent, is often mentioned in the *Gesta* (e.g., c. 39), and in Innocent's correspondence—e.g., vii. 133, confirming certain properties to him, and xii. 5, confirming to him the "castrum Soranum." On Cardinal John see *infra*, p. 11, n. 3. Peter Anibaldi was the husband of Innocent's sister (*sororius*): *Gesta*, cc. 139, 140, and ep. v. 127, granting "castrum Juliani to his brother-in-law and seneschal." Cf. xiv. 86,

dei Conti di Segni, cardinal-priest of St. Mark, in whom, "considering his nationality," the monks of Canterbury were pleased to state that they had confidence,¹ is credited with being Lothaire's uncle, and we find our King Richard anxious to honour his nephew, who was, perchance, Lothaire himself.² Besides his brother-in-law (*sororius*), Peter Anibaldi, Innocent in his correspondence names Stephen, a certain B., and Leonard³ as his nephews, and we know from another source that the great Pope Gregory IX. was his grand-nephew.⁴ Quite a number of others are referred to in the *Gesta* or in Innocent's letters as the Pope's cousins (*consobrini*) or relatives generally. Among the former appear John Oddo, Transmond, Lando of Montelongo, James the Marshal, Octavian and Oddo of Palombara, and among the latter Benedict and Romanus Carzoli.⁵ Furthermore, as a certain Theobald, of whom

¹ "Vir de quo, quantum permittit natio, confidimus." *Epp. Cantuar.*, p. 286, an. 1189, R.S.

² *Ib.*, p. 310.

³ *Epp.* xvi. 54 and 60, granting a prebend to him in the church of Laon, and a canonry in that of York. I have concluded that Cardinal John was the Pope's brother, as he says that Leonard was his nephew and Joann's also, ep. 60. On Stephen see xi. 128; and on B., v. 123.

⁴ Gregory's anonymous contemporary biographer, whose work has recently been published afresh in vol. ii. of Fabre's ed. of the *Liber Censusum*, says that Gregory: "Innocentium P. III. tertio gradu consanguinitatis attingens," c. 2, p. 18.

⁵ *Cf.* ep. vii. 102, confirming properties to John Odo; ix. 68 and x. 117, concerning Transmond's marriage with Helen, the ruler of Gallura in Sardinia. The *Gesta*, c. 23, and epp. ii. 62 and xvi. 60, speak of Lando, the latter letter wanting a prebend for Lando's son; ii. 245, v. 85, and xv. 114 (granting him "castrum Nymphæ") concern James; Octavian, who is mentioned in the *Gesta*, cc. 23 and 147, was made cardinal-deacon of SS. Sergius and Bacchus in 1205; Oddo of Palombara is spoken of in ii. 245; Romanus Carzoli (*rector* of Tuscany) in vi. 105; and Benedict in xiii. 80 and 130, wherein a prebend is sought for him. Mr Pirie-Gordon gives a genealogical table of the house of Conti, but the above details, obviously from the most authentic sources, do not always harmonise with it,

we shall again have occasion to speak, was the son-in-law of Romanus de Scotta,¹ from whom Innocent was descended through his mother, we may presume that he was in some way akin to the Pope. Through the Scotti, Innocent was also connected with the Paparoni.²

As many of these men owed their advancement to Innocent, their rise in the world caused the charge of nepotism to be urged against their benefactor. But, if there was some ground for the accusation, it is generally agreed that the men upon whom the Pope thus bestowed his favour were men of ability, and it was necessary for him to surround himself with trusty adherents, in view of the rival families ever ready to contest his authority.³ We shall see later the practical reply which Innocent himself made to this accusation.

Innocent's family was, however, not merely locally well connected. It was allied with some of the reigning families in Europe. Philip Augustus of France calls himself a blood-relation of the Pope;⁴ and, what is decidedly curious, Voukan (or Velican), whom the papal chancellery designates as Vulcanus, the second son of Stephen I., Nemanya, the founder of the kingdom of Servia, declares that, of his distinguished connections, he is most proud of his kinship with Innocent.⁵

Education. All we know of the youth of Lothaire is that it was passed in study at Rome and then at Paris, which was now acquiring the greatest fame as a centre of studies,

¹ *Gesta*, c. 137.

² Cf. a legal document ap. *P. L.*, t. 217, p. 290 f.

³ See *Gesta*, c. 135 ff., for the trouble which the nephews of Celestine III. caused Innocent.

⁴ *Reg. Inn. super neg. R. Imp.*, n. 13.

⁵ *Reg.*, ii. 176, "Augustali stemmati undique insignimur, et, quod gloriosius et beatius est, vestri gloriosi sanguinis affinitatem habere cognovimus,"

and finally at Bologna; and we are assured that his abilities and application enabled him to outstrip his companions both in philosophy and in theology.¹

For his old masters and schools Innocent always retained the respect of a true scholar. Peter Hismael, abbot of St. Andrew,² who taught him in Rome, was named by him bishop of Sutri; and Peter of Corbeil, under whom he sat at Paris,³ obtained through him first the bishopric of Cambrai and then the archbishopric of Sens.⁴ Unfortunately, the ancient professor continued to be more a man of the pen than of the sword, and, showing himself weak against strong offenders, brought down upon himself before he died some bitter reproofs from his dauntless pupil.⁵ And when the archbishop, cut to the quick, told the Pope how very bitter his words were to his soul, though Innocent declared that he was glad he had written them, not indeed simply because Peter was grieved by them, but because he was grieved to repentance, he took care to add words that must have brought balm to his old master's wounded heart: "Throughout the whole realm of France it is well known that it is you I specially love among all its bishops, and that it is of your honour that I am most concerned. By the aforesaid letter, then, it is the negligence of others that I have blamed, for they will realise that, if I have not spared you, I would certainly not spare them under similar

Innocent's
masters.

¹ *Gesta*, c. 2.

² Ep. x. 145, where Innocent amends a decision passed by Peter.

³ *Gesta*, c. 147.

⁴ *Ib.*, and c. 56. "Cujus (Peter of Corbeil) Parisius in sacra pagina fuerat auditor." Cf. Innocent's own acknowledgments of his indebtedness to Peter, and his efforts to secure for him a prebend at York. Ep. i. 478-80. Cf. viii. 52. In ii. 51 he says of Peter: "quem sincera diligimus in Domino charitate."

⁵ vi. 151, an. 1203. "Quoniam cum Heli forsitan senuisti, palpas magis quam punias (sic)." He must exert himself and be brave, lest he be compelled "locare alii ecclesiam Senonensem."

circumstances."¹ He does not, however, fail again to insist that Peter must do his duty. "Though," he concludes, "I have sent you this letter to console you, lest too great sadness should consume thy soul, I would not have you forget the former one." Had it not been for the interfering hand of death, Innocent might even have had to punish the archbishop for not having at once accepted the excommunication which he published against Philip of France, when Prince Louis invaded England.²

The University of Paris.

If the men who had taught him ever remained dear to Innocent, so also did the places wherein his mind had received its training. Especially dear to him was Paris,³ which the enthusiasts among the scholars at the time styled "the fortunate city wherein the sacred codices are unrolled with so much eagerness, and their deep mysteries solved by the aid of the learning there instilled (*superfusi dono spiritus*); wherein is such zeal on the part of the scholars, such knowledge of the Scriptures, that the place deserves to be called 'Cariath Sepher,' the city of letters."⁴

¹ vi. 236.

² Cf. Ep. Honorius III. of April 27, 1218, to Philip of France, ap. *Regest.*, n. 1258, i. p. 207, ed. Pressutti, and William the Breton, *Chron.*, an. 1216, c. 217 ff.

³ At what precise moment in the second half of the twelfth century was founded that important ecclesiastical teaching organisation which soon came to be known as the University of Paris cannot be stated, but it was in full working order in the days of Philip Augustus. Cf. Luchaire, *L'université de Paris sous Philippe-Auguste*, ap. *Académie des Sciences morales*, Jan. 1899, p. 87 ff., and P. Feret, *Les origines de l'université de Paris et son organisation aux xii^e et xiii^e siècles*, ap. *Revue des Quest. Hist.*, Oct. 1892, p. 337 ff.

⁴ Cf. the letter of Philip of Harvengt to a friend, ap. Denifle, *Chartular. Univer. Paris*, i. 50. Cf. the following letters of the same person, where he speaks of there being at Paris "Apothecas uberes scripturarum" (p. 51), but does not forget to remind his friend: "Non enim Parisius fuisse, sed Parisius honestam scientiam acquisisse honestum est." Guido of Bazoches, also a contemporary of Innocent, gives a most enthusiastic description of the city itself which, as now, to many at least, "retinet oblectatione presentes, sed etiam remotos

More critical observers, however, were not slow to point out to the Pope¹ that all was not well at Paris, and that some professors were more eager for novelty than for truth, with the result that the "Indivisible Trinity is torn asunder even by the roadside, so that there are as many errors as doctors, as many scandals as audiences, and as many blasphemies as streets." Confusion, too, is carried into the studies of canon law by forged letters of the Popes, and mere striplings "who have not yet learnt to be scholars, aspire to be appointed professors" of the liberal arts. "All these evils," concluded a critic, "call for apostolic correction, in order that papal authority may reduce to order the present chaos in teaching, learning, and discussion."²

Moreover, the masters and scholars complained that they were unduly hampered by the tyranny and exactions of the local ecclesiastical authorities, who were anxious not to lose their full control over the growing educational establishment in their midst. The Pope was informed that the chancellor of the cathedral, who, before the rise of the University was an ecclesiastical judge and head of the schools,³ wished to exact an oath of obedience from the masters, and also at times money as well, and had even imprisoned some of the members of the University.⁴

allicit, invitat absentes," p. 55. He proceeds to say that philosophy has set up her throne there, that there are taught the seven liberal arts, civil and canon law, sacred scripture, and, he might have added, medicine. "In hac insula perpetuam sibi mansionem septem pepigere sorores, artes videlicet liberales," etc., p. 56.

¹ Stephen of Tournai, writing between 1192 and 1203 "ad Papam" (ap. *ib.*, p. 47), but whether to Celestine III. or Innocent III. is not certain.

² *Ib.*, p. 48.

³ Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, i. p. 308.

⁴ "Didicimus," wrote the Pope, "a volentibus scholas regere, quos etiam magistrorum assertio idoneos assertit ad regendum, juramentum obedientie ac interdum pecunie precium . . . cancellarius . . . nititur extorquere." Ap. Denifle, *ib.*, p. 73.

Innocent was indignant. When he was studying literature (*studium litterarum*) at Paris, he said, he had never witnessed such conduct.¹ He accordingly took steps to remedy the evils which had been pointed out to him. In deference to the representations of Stephen of Tournai and others,² Innocent decreed that, under normal circumstances, there were not to be more than eight professors;³ and, in reponse to the complaints of the masters and "his beloved scholars," it was decided in consequence of his mandate that the chancellor was not to exact any oath of obedience or any money for granting a licence to teach, and that the oaths he had extorted were to be annulled. Nor was the chancellor to refuse a master a license to teach theology, law, science, or art, if the majority of the professors declared he was a suitable person.⁴ Innocent also, at the request of the students, confirmed their right to state their case, as occasion might arise, by a proctor.⁵

But he did not stop here. His heart was with the University. Whatever learning he possessed, so he declared, was the result of his stay at Paris.⁶ He therefore sent to Paris one of his most trusted counsellors, the English-

¹ Ep. of Jan. 20, 1212, ap. *ib.*, p. 73. "Cum igitur tempore, quo vacavimus Parisius studio litterarum, numquam scolares vidimus sic tractari."

² The author of the *Life* of John of Montmirail, who lived in the second half of the twelfth century, speaks of the great number of theological professors at Paris in his time. *Acta SS.*, Sept., viii. 221, n. 16, ap. *ib.*, p. 65.

³ Ep. ap. *ib.*, Nov. 14, 1207, Sutrii. Cf. *ib.*, p. 67, where Innocent at their request restores a master "magistrorum communioni."

⁴ See documents 16-18, ap. *ib.*, pp. 75-77.

⁵ *ib.*, p. 32.

⁶ "In quo (*i.e.*, in thy kingdom, as he wrote to King Philip of France) nos recolimus . . . quantæcunque scientiæ donum adeptos, beneficiorum impensam multiplicem suscepisse," i. 171. Cf. ii. 197. "Infra nos ipsos sæpius recolentes beneficia nobis olim in ipso regno scholasticis insistentibus disciplinis impensa."

man Cardinal Robert de Courçon,¹ in order to examine into the whole condition of the University, and to legislate accordingly. The regulations issued by Robert (August 1215)² do not concern us, but we may note with the learned author of the *Universities of Europe*³ that "the University gained in the end . . . by every appeal to the Roman Court ; . . ." for "the Papacy, with that unerring instinct which marks its earlier history, sided with the power of the future, the University of masters, and against the efforts of a local hierarchy to keep education in leading-strings." But, needless to say, the local hierarchy did not give way at once. They made desperate efforts to control "the university of masters and scholars" as they had controlled their cathedral school. But as Popes Honorius III. and Gregory IX. followed in the footsteps of Innocent, the University was enabled to free itself by their aid.⁴

Before the young Lothaire left Paris, he made a pilgrim-Bologna.age to the shrine of St. Thomas at Canterbury, where, no doubt, his ideas of working for the liberty and exaltation of the Church were strengthened.⁵ From Paris the

¹ He had been Innocent's college companion at the University of Paris, according to the V^e Rob. de Courson in his *Vie du card. Rob. de Courson*, p. 7, Vannes, 1894.

² Ap. *ib.*, p. 78 f. The regulations issued by virtue of "a special mandate of the lord Pope" are most interesting, and concern both the studies and the discipline of the University.

³ Rashdall, vol. i. p. 308 ff. After the formation of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, Innocent was anxious for masters of the University of Paris to go to Greece "to reform the study of literature where first it took its rise." Denifle, *ib.*, n. 3, i. p. 62.

⁴ Cf. papal bulls of 1219, 1222, and 1237.

⁵ This visit of Innocent to England rests on his own words, as recounted by William, abbot of Andres, near Andres (Pas de Calais), who had several interviews with the Pope, and has left us a very valuable portion of the *Chron. Andrense* (†1234). "Tempore quo Parisius in scholis resedimus, apud b. Thomam peregrinantes." *Chron.*, n. 157, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxiv. p. 738.

earnest student made his way to Bologna to study law. Both civil and canon law were indeed taught at Paris, but it was at Bologna that its most distinguished professors were to be found. Under them he attained a remarkable proficiency in the intricacies of law, and was subsequently accounted one of the most authoritative of papal legislators. When he became Pope, Innocent ceased not to keep in touch with his former professors or fellow-students. We find him in correspondence with Uguccio of Pisa, afterwards bishop of Ferrara, whom he speaks of as especially learned in canon law.¹ On Peter Collivacino, whom he met at Bologna, and who collected the Decretals which he dedicated to the University of Bologna (1210),² he conferred the cardinalate. Here also he is supposed to have come in contact with the Englishman, Geoffrey of Vinsauf, who, at any rate, afterwards dedicated to him his *Art of Poetry* (*Poëtria Nova*),³ and took delight in speaking of him in very flowery language: "Thou art neither God nor man, but as though between the two, one whom God chooses to be His ally. As such, with thee, He rules the world. But He wished not all things for Himself alone. So He willed earth to thee, and Heaven to Himself. What could He do better? To whom better than thee could He give it."⁴

¹ Ep. ii. 50.

² Potthast, 4157. Innocent's Decretals were absorbed into the great collection of Gregory IX., which also was addressed "dilectis filiis doctoribus et scholaribus universis Bononiæ commorantibus." See Gregory's letter prefixed to his Decretals, ap. *Corpus juris can.*, ed. Friedberg, ii. p. 1.

³ Ap. P. Leyser, *Hist. Poëtarum Medii Ævi*, Magdeburg, 1721.

⁴ Cited by Dale, *National Life in Early English Literature*, p. 240, Cambridge, 1907. To the short extract given by Dale, we add the following:

"Papa stupor mundi

. . . nec vult tua maxima virtus

Claudi mensura ; nihil est quo metiar illam,

Transit measuras hominum."

It was probably not long before the year 1187 that Lothaire returned to Rome with a knowledge of law which was to manifest itself in his every action for the rest of his life, and with a knowledge of the Holy Scriptures that astounded his distinguished modern biographer.¹ He was also credited with being able to

Lothaire
returns to
Rome, and
is made a
cardinal.

He then compares him to different apostles :

“Firma fides Petro, perfecta scientia Paulo.”

He next places his “gratia linguæ” above Augustine, Leo, etc. :

“Trans hominem totus es : ubi corporis ista juvenus
Tam grandis senii, vel cordis tanta senectus
Insita tam juveni. Quam mira rebellio rerum :
Ecce senex juvenis ! Fidei sub tempore primæ
Cum dominus Petro præferret amore Johannem,
Papatu Petrum voluit præferre Johanni.

Suntque tui tales quales decuere. Relucent
Et circumlucent papam, quasi sydera solem.
Tu solus in mundo quasi sol ; illi quasi stellæ ;
Roma quasi cælum. Me transtulit Anglia Romam,
Tanquam de terris ad cælum. Transtulit ad vos
De tenebris velut ad lucem. Lux publica mundi
Digneris lucere mihi

... Accipe, magne,
Hoc opus exiguum, breve corpore, viribus amplum.”

In the epilogue to his poem he again addresses the Pope (p. 976) :

“Nec Deus es, nec homo, quasi neuter es inter utrumque,
Quem Deus elegit socium.

... Sibi noluit unus
Omnia, sed voluit tibi terras et sibi cælum.
... Pater ergo, vicarie Christi

Me totum committo tibi ...
Omne quod humanum transcendens dicere vellem
Plene. Sed res est longe fœcundior ore.”

Geoffrey has also written : *Veteris poetæ carmen apologeticum adversus obtrectatores curiæ Romanæ*, ap. Mabillon, *Analecta Vet.*, ed. Paris, 1685. It is there edited as the work of an anonymous poet.

¹ Hurter, i. 23.

read Greek, and to write verse.¹ In addition he was, according to his biographer, "a man of clear mind and tenacious memory ; . . . eloquent both in the language of the people and in that of the learned, and skilled in music and singing."² He was of middle height, and pleasing face. Although as a rule he was not prodigal, and still less avaricious,³ he was, however, profuse in alms-deeds, and sparing in other matters, except in cases of necessity. Against the rebellious and the contumacious he was severe, but was gracious towards the lowly and the dutiful.⁴ Grave and steadfast, magnanimous and far-seeing, he was a defender of the faith and a destroyer of heresy. In matters of justice he was inflexible, though ever prone to mercy. Humble in prosperity, patient in adversity, and ready to forgive, he was nevertheless of a naturally fiery temperament."⁵

Such a man could not long be left in the background. He was soon made a canon of St. Peter's,⁶ whose church he took care to benefit when he became Pope.⁷

¹ If, as is asserted by many, he was the author of the tender hymn, "Veni Sancte Spiritus," he was certainly for once, at least, a poet of a very high order.

² Bonazzi, quoting a contemporary parchment preserved at Perugia in the "libreria Domenicini," says that Innocent, like Gregory VII., was of small stature, but handsome, and very quick. He was eloquent, and gifted with so telling a voice that even when he sank it to a whisper, he was easily heard. His glance inspired both reverence and fear. *Storia di Perugia*, i. p. 268.

³ Cf. *Gesta*, c. 4. "Cum manus suas ab omni turpi munere excussisset."

⁴ Cf. *ib.*, c. 141, where the writer says that Innocent, who could not be broken by violence, was easily moved by submissiveness.

⁵ *Gesta*, c. 1.

⁶ Ep. i. 296.

⁷ *Ib.*, and i. 536 ; *Gesta*, c. 145. According to these authorities he assigned to the basilica half of the offerings from all the services, and the revenue from the sale of the leaden pilgrim signs or badges (*stagna*), which he gave it the right of striking. Among the churches which he submitted to it was that of S. Maria in Saxia, the church which used to belong to the *Schola Anglorum*. Among the many splendid

Pope Gregory VIII. ordained him subdeacon in 1187, and he was even then a man of such influence in Rome that the monks of Canterbury, in their protracted dispute with their archbishops at this period, advised their Roman agents to try to gain the goodwill of "the lord Lothaire and his friend the lord Pillius."¹ In 1190, Clement III., said to have been his uncle, made him, when he was only twenty-nine, cardinal-deacon of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, the little church which till some time in the sixteenth century was to be seen in the Forum between the arch of Septimius Severus and the Capitol.²

One of the first cares of the new cardinal was to restore at his own expense his titular church, which, according to his biographer, was so much out of repair as to resemble a crypt rather than a basilica. He thoroughly renewed it both inside and out, and, as soon as he became Pope, built a portico in front of it, made it many valuable presents,³ and confirmed its possessions, which included among other things the greater part of the arch of Septimius Severus itself, with the tower built on part of it, and a tower "in casale Barbariana."⁴

Whilst cardinal, or, as he was afterwards in the habit of alluding to himself at this period, "whilst I was in a

presents which he gave to the basilica were two copies of the Gospels "most expensively and beautifully adorned." He also decorated the apse with mosaics, and restored the mosaics of its façade. On the *pilgrims' signs* ("de signis plumbeis sive stagneis") see Jusserand, *English Wayfaring Life*, p. 356. In connection with St. Peter's, see the curious letter, i. 359, which tells of Innocent ordering some of its altars to be consecrated in consequence of a vision of St. Peter to an old priest. The apostle bade him tell the Pope, "whom he had loved as a son from his birth," so to do.

¹ *Epp. Cantuar.*, p. 68, R.S. Cf. Ralph Coggeshall, *Chron.*, an. 1198, p. 89, R.S.

² *G.*, c. 2.

³ *G.*, cc. 4 and 145.

⁴ Ep. ii. 102. This most interesting bull is partly translated in Nichols' translation of the *Mirabilia*, p. 179 f.

Lothaire
restores his
cardinal-
titular
church,

less important position," Lothaire was kept busily employed by Popes Clement III. and Celestine III.,¹ and his name is found regularly affixed to their bulls.

Cardinal
Lothaire's
literary
work.

But, busy as he was in dealing with ecclesiastical disputes of all kinds, he found time enough for some literary work. Of the books which he composed, the following were written before he became Pope, viz.: *De contemptu mundi*, *De sacrificio missæ*, and *De quadripartita specie nuptiarum*.² Whatever may be thought of the literary value of these small treatises, they give us an insight into Innocent's character which could not easily be obtained from his famous *Regesta*. This proclaims him the statesman, the judge, the lawgiver, the man of business, the conscious guide of the destinies of men; this shows him the Head of the Universal Church, ever watchful over her interests and welfare, and ever assertive of his own rights; the temporal ruler, anxious for the prosperity of his domains, and resolved to restore them to their pristine extent; the Head of Christendom ruling, guiding, and directing all things great and small. But if, occasionally, his letters reveal to us that, though in the world, he was not of it, and that, though plunged deeply in the work of the world, it did not absorb but wearied him,³

¹ Cf. epp. i. 85, 103, 317; ii. 30, "nos ipsi dum in minori eramus officio constituti"; viii. 86.

² The *Gesta*, c. 2, says that these three works were composed before Lothaire became Pope. They are all to be found ap. *P. L.*, t. 217. It is not known whether his *Dialogus inter Deum et peccatorem* was written before or after he became Pope. Cardinal Mai, who discovered it, assures us that, whilst it shows the very religious disposition of its writer, it excites the piety of the reader.

³ Cf. ep. i. 176. He is made indeed to feel himself "servus servorum"; i. 358. He feels himself ready to sink beneath the weight of the pastoral office; viii. 52, "Cogunt nos occupationes assidue, . . . et fortius quam hactenus aggravamur." *Gesta*, c. 18, "Quo amplius cupiebat a secularibus negotiis expediri, eo magis est mundanis curis implexus." Cf. c. 42.

still it was reserved for his *opuscula* to lay bare the mystical side of his nature, and to make known to us how little hold the world and the things of the world really had upon him, and how intensely he despised its vanities and had his heart centred upon God, and upon the things of God.

His *De contemptu mundi* has been translated into many languages, and the title of the earliest English version furnishes a summary of its contents: "The Mirror of Man's lyfe: plainely describing what weake mould we are made of. Englished by H. K(erton) from the treatise 'De contemptu mundi' by Pope Innocent III.," London, 1576. With the object of lowering man's pride, "Lothaire the unworthy deacon" set forth in three books the miseries of human nature, physical and moral, both here and hereafter also, in the case of the wicked. The treatise consists of little more than quotations from the Scriptures, and, if its compilation reveals a character that had already shaken itself free from the attractions of this world, it equally shows that in this species of composition he was not in advance of the average writer of his age. It must certainly be borne in mind that it was simply composed in order that even the little leisure of his busy life might not be altogether unproductive,¹ and that it was rather a scholastic exercise than the deliberate expression of a man of experience. For the sake even of the quaint old English version we append one or two characteristic passages:—

"Perhappes this one thing he may perfytly learne and knowe, that there is nothing absolutely knowne unto men, notwithstanding his greate and forcible argumentes groundred uppon probable reasons" (i. c. 10). In the fifteenth chapter of the same book he shows "the miserie of the maryed and unmarried man." . . . "So

¹ "Modicum otii, quod inter multas angustias nuper . . . captavi, non ex toto mihi præteriit otiosum." *Prolog*

deepely rooted is lecherous lust in the fleshe of man, that if it be possible for fire not to burne, it is possible for man not to lust." The married man "is carefull for those thyngs which belong to his wife and family, and is devided in him selfe." . . . "Hys wife desireth to have pretious ornamentes and rich jewelles, she craveth divers sutes of gorgious and sumptuous apparrell, and sundry parcels of householde stuffe, yea and oftentimes the wives furniture doth exceede the revenewe of hir husband's lands. But if she be denyed what she demandeth she doth mourne and sighe . . . she chatteth . . . with greevous complaintes of hir husbandes ingratitude etc. . . . If she be fayre, she is soone beloved of others ; if she be foule she is not hastily desired. But it is a hard matter to keepe that whiche is beloved of many, and it is a greefe to possesse that whiche no man esteemeth."

"What is more vayne than to adorne the table with fine and imbrothered clothes, with ivorie trenchers, with long carpettes, with flagons of sylver and golde, and a number of pretious and gorgious ornamentes? or what awayleth it a man to paynte his chamber, to gild the postes of his bedde, etc." (ii. 38).

*De quadri-
partita
specie nup-
tiarum.*

The curious treatise "On the four kinds of marriage" is also described as written under difficulties, and is dedicated to one who shared those difficulties with the deacon, to the priest Benedict, whom he addresses as his "beloved brother in the Lord"—no doubt because he had frequently worked in his company. The work is attributed to Benedict's wishes, and is published with the full knowledge that the result is not proportionate to the wealth of material, nor the building to its foundation.¹

¹ "Ego vero non meo sed tuo satisfaciens desiderio, præbeo quod optastis. . . . Feci tamen utcunque . . . multis impeditus angustiis, quas ipse mecum ex magna parte portasti."

The four kinds of marriage treated of are the legitimate union of man and woman, that between Christ and His Church, that between God and the soul of the just man, and finally that between the Word and human nature. The deacon's treatise aims at bringing out the analogies between these different kinds of marriage ; and to an age that delighted in symbolism it cannot have failed to be attractive.

Though Lothaire's treatise on the Mass is also treated very largely from a symbolical point of view, it is distinctly the most valuable of the three works which he composed whilst deacon of SS. Sergius and Bacchus. From it much useful information can be gathered concerning the ceremonies and rites of the Roman Church in the twelfth century. The deacon sets out to explain the Mass, "that banquet of the Church in which the father kills the fatted calf for the son who returns to him, setting out the bread of life (John vi.) and the wine mingled by wisdom (Prov. ix. 2)." He proposes, moreover, to treat of the persons, actions, words, and materials which are connected with it ; and when he comes to do so, he gives to each of them a symbolical or allegorical explanation.¹ He treats at length in the fourth book of the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation, neatly noting that what was bread when our Lord took it into His hands was His body when

*De sacro
altaris
mysterio.*

¹ Hence, speaking of the pontifical buskins (*caligæ*), he says that they are fastened at the knees, lest the preacher should be weak-kneed, "prædicator . . . genua debilia roborare debet." *L.*, i. c. 48. The bishop's mitre signifies knowledge of both Testaments ; for its two points (or horns, *cornua*) are the two Testaments, and its two fillets the spirit and the letter (i. 60). He also informs us that the Pope does not use a crosier, because St. Peter sent his to Eucherius, the first bishop of Trier, whom he had sent to preach the Gospel in Germany ; and he adds that the said crosier was still preserved with great veneration at Trier (i. 62). He discourses at some length on the pallium, and the mystical interpretation of all its parts (i. 63).

He distributed it.¹ Moreover, in this treatise he displays a distinctly critical spirit. On the one hand he extracts an argument that the Canon of the Mass was not composed by one man at one time, but was gradually built up by different men at different times, from the threefold repetition of the names of the saints therein found.² On the other hand, he ventures, with all due humility, to suggest that the order of the prayers in it might easily be improved.³ He concludes his work by modestly exhorting his readers not to suppose that, when they have perused his book, they have read a full and complete account of the great sacrifice of the Mass. He has been hampered, he declares, not only by the vastness of the subject, but by the limited time at his disposal, and he begs his reader both to correct his book and to pray for him.⁴

To one who reviews these early works of Innocent with the ideals of our age in front of him, they will scarcely appeal at all; but their symbolism was a delight to the men of the thirteenth century, and there is scarcely an author of that epoch who mentions Innocent who does not praise his writings. In any case, they assuredly do not show him that energetic, firm, and enlightened ruler of men which his deeds and his letters subsequently proved him to have been.⁵ For there was in truth much more of the man of action than of the mystic in Innocent III.; and if for once we may give credence to the gossip of Friar

¹ "Quod ergo panis fuerat cum accepit, corpus suum erat cum dedit." iv. 7.

² ii. c. 9.

³ v. c. 2.

⁴ "Hanc solam apud homines hujus opusculi mercedem expectans, ut apud misericordem judicem pro meis peccatis devotas orationes effundant." *Conclus.*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 217, p. 914.

⁵ Luchaire (i. p. 12) notes that Innocent's early works give no promise of "le génie politique et la hauteur d'esprit d'un des plus grands papes du moyen âge."

Salimbene, his choice of the active state in preference to the contemplative was deliberate; and he knew how to justify his choice. Speaking to one who wished to decline a bishopric, he said: "Do not imagine that, because Mary chose the better part which shall not be taken away from her, Martha therefore chose a bad part in busying herself about many things. If the contemplative state is safer, the active is the more fruitful; and if the former is sweeter, the latter is more profitable. In fertility of offspring the blear-eyed Leah excelled the comely Rachel."¹

After the interment of Celestine III. the cardinals, including the deacon Lothaire, who had assisted at it, betook themselves immediately to the Septizonium of Severus to join the rest of their brethren who had already assembled in this ancient ruin, long before turned into a fortress. It had been decided to hold the election in that stronghold in order that it might be entirely free.² After the Mass of the Holy Ghost had been said, the cardinals humbly prostrated themselves, and gave each other the kiss of peace. When they had been duly exhorted to vote conscientiously, scrutators (*examinatores*) were appointed according to custom to record the votes and report thereon to the others. Before the death of Celestine, satirists proclaimed that all the cardinals were aiming at the Papacy;³

Lothaire
is elected
Pope, Jan.
8, 1198.

¹ *Chron.*, an. 1249, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxxii. p. 326.

² *Gesta*, c. 5. I do not feel quite certain that the election did not take place in the monastery of SS. Andrew and Gregory on the Clivus Scauri which is the brow of the Cœlian hill in the neighbourhood of that monastery. As the medieval fortress of the Septizonium was at the base of the opposite Palatine hill, the monastery would be under its protection, and was perhaps the owner of it. The text is ambiguous, "ad Septa Solis monasterii Clivisauri," and should be compared with the corresponding text in the biography of Gregory IX., c. 4, ed. ap. *Liber Cens.*, ii. 19, "in domo b. Gregorii Gregorius ejus imitator assumitur, apud Septem Solia summi pontificii solium . . . ascendens."

³ *Cf. supra*, vol. x. p. 426 f.

but when it came to the actual election of his successor only three names were put forward. Of these John of Salerno, cardinal-priest of S. Stefano Rotondo, received ten votes,¹ and Lothaire the great majority; and although some at first thought that the latter, being only thirty-seven, was too young, still, considerations of his strong character, his virtue, his learning, and perhaps of his freedom from party attachments,² speedily carried the day. The other candidates resigned their pretensions, and, as the votes of all centred on Innocent, the Roman proverb, that he who enters the conclave a Pope leaves it a cardinal, was for once proved false. Lothaire, whom the majority of the Romans had already thought of as Celestine's successor,³ was, on the very day of that pontiff's death, officially declared Head of the Universal Church by the unanimous vote of the cardinals.⁴ Hoping, no doubt, as Innocent has himself suggested,⁵ that "they would find the silver cup in the sack of Benjamin," they would not listen to Lothaire's tearful objections⁶ to the honour which they wished to bestow upon him; but, placing the pontifical mantle on his shoulders, and giving him the name of Innocent, they intoned the *Te Deum*,

¹ Roger of Hoveden, *Chron.*, 1201, iv. p. 174, R.S. Cf. *ib.*, 1198, p. 41.

² "Inter fratres sine querela conversans, non dividens in partem." *Gesta*, c. 4.

³ "Proficiebat . . . probitate . . . ita ut omnes de ipsius sublimitate præsumerent et sperarent." *Ib.*, c. 3.

⁴ *Ib.*, c. "Omnes tandem consenserunt in ipsum." Cf. Innocent's encyclical announcing his election. Ep. i. I, also ap. Hoveden, *l.c.*, p. 42; and ep. i. II.

⁵ Ep. i. I.

⁶ The *Gesta*, c. 5, is supported by Gervase of Canterbury ("invitus traheretur," *Chron.*, 1198, i. 550, R.S.) and by the encyclical of Innocent himself, who says he finally accepted the office lest prolonged refusal might engender a schism ("discidii pareret detrimentum"), or might seem to be an opposition to the will of God. Cf. *Sermo* iii., ap. *P. L.*, t. 217, p. 665. "Renitentem accepit."

and led him to the assembled people who were awaiting without ¹ the result of the election.

In connection with this election the author of the *Gesta*² has a pretty story to tell us. After Innocent had been duly elected, and had taken his seat to receive the homage of the cardinals, the whitest of three doves which had been flying about the hall came towards him and settled at his right hand. He also states that in a vision Innocent had been assured that he should become the spouse of his mother, *i.e.*, the Roman Church, and that many good men had seen visions concerning him, which, as the new Pope did not like to have discussed, he would not mention.

After his election he was escorted by the people first to the basilica of Constantine and then to the adjoining Lateran palace with the solemn ceremonies which we have already partly described in the case of Paschal II.³ When he first reached the Lateran basilica, Innocent was placed by the cardinals in the marble seat, known as the *sedes stercoraria*, verifying the words of the Psalmist: "Raising up the needy from the earth, and lifting up the poor out of the dunghill (*de stercore*) that he may place him with princes (and that he may hold the throne of glory)." Then rising from his seat the Pope took from the *camerarius* (chamberlain, at this period the papal treasurer) three handfuls of denarii and scattered them among the people, crying out, "Gold and silver are

Innocent is
escorted
to the
Lateran.

¹ "Inferius" is the word of *Gesta*, c. 5. This would seem to indicate that the election took place in the monastery (see n. 2, p. 27), as the Septizonium was built at the foot of the S.E. corner of the Palatine.

² C. 6.

³ Vol. viii. p. 8 ff. Cf. the *Ordo Romanus* of Cencius, ap. *Liber Censuum*, i. p. 311, ed. Fabre, from which we take the present description. A comparison between the two descriptions will show the slight changes made since the days of Paschal in the ceremonies connected with a papal election.

not mine for my pleasure ; what I have, that do I give to you." The prior of the canons of the basilica and one of the cardinals thereupon led the Pope into the church to the great staircase which ascended to the oratory of St. Sylvester in the Lateran palace, whilst the chant was raised : " St. Peter has chosen Innocent Pope."

At the top of the staircase the Pope was met by the judges, who conducted him through the palace to the oratory, the entrance of which consisted of an arch supported by two porphyry columns. Above the arch was an image of our Saviour which had once been struck by a Jew on the face, and which, as may be seen at this day, adds Cencius, thereupon gave forth blood. To the right of the arch was a *porphyry* chair. When Innocent had taken his seat upon it, the prior of the canons presented him with a baton (*ferula*), the symbol of rule and correction, with the keys of the Lateran palace and basilica, because especially to Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, was given the power of opening and shutting, binding and loosing, and through that apostle to all the Roman Pontiffs.¹ Still holding the baton and keys, Innocent betook himself to another *porphyry* chair² on the left of the arch, and there, after giving up the baton and the keys, was girded by the prior with a red silken girdle from which depended a purple purse containing musk and twelve seals made of precious stones. Moreover, the Pope-elect was instructed so to place himself on the two chairs as to seem to be reclining on them, in order to represent himself as recumbent between the primacy of St. Peter and the preaching of St. Paul, the

¹ All this is a literal translation from Cencius.

² On the two *marble* chairs, known as *symæ* or *sigmæ*, see *supra*, vol. viii. p. 10. One of these seats is now in the Vatican, the other in the Louvre under the staircase of the "Victoire de Samothrace," in the hall known as "Salle des Prisonniers barbares." Luchaire, i. 17.

doctor of the Gentiles. The *Ordo* also notes that the girdle typifies chastity, and the purse the treasury whence the poor are supported; the twelve seals denote the power of the twelve apostles, and the musk suggests, in the words of the apostle, that we are "the good odour of Christ unto God."

Whilst still in this second seat the Pope gave the kiss of peace to the officials of the palace after they had kissed his feet, and, before rising, thrice scattered more denarii among the people, saying: "He hath distributed, he hath given to the poor, his justice remaineth for ever and ever" (Ps. cxi. 9).

From the oratory of St. Sylvester Innocent was led to that of St. Lawrence (the *Sancta Sanctorum*), passing beneath the statues (*yconas*) of the apostles, "which came by sea to Rome by themselves," and after making a long prayer before the altar, specially reserved for the Pope's use, he adjourned first to his private apartments and then to the banqueting hall.

As the Saturday of Ember week, one of the usual days for conferring of holy orders, was approaching, Innocent's ordination to the priesthood was put off until that day (February 21), and his consecration as bishop was fixed for the following Sunday.¹

Innocent is ordained priest, and consecrated bishop, Feb. 22, 1198.

In the early morning a splendid procession left the Lateran palace. First, clad like all the others in silk, went the youngest of the subdeacons of the Lateran, carrying the cross.² After him was led a spare horse fully caparisoned for the Pope. Next marched twelve *draconarii* carrying the standards of the twelve regions of the city, and followed by two admirals of the fleet

Procession to St. Peter's.

¹ The feast of St. Peter's chair at Antioch. Cf. Innocent's own reference to the date, ep. i. 296.

² "Tam clerici quam laici induti pannis sericis." *Ordo Rom. XII.* of Cencius, c. 3, ap. *Lib. Cens.*, i. p. 292, ed. Fabre. Cf. pp. 314 and 585.

clad in copes (*pluvialibus*). Then came such foreign bishops and archbishops as chanced to be in the city, to the number of four of the latter and some twenty of the former,¹ followed in order by ten abbots of the various Roman monasteries, the cardinal-bishops, and six cardinal-priests. These were succeeded by the advocates of the Curia (the *advocati* or *defensores*) and the notaries, a Greek deacon and a Greek subdeacon, who had to chant the gospel and the epistle in their language. The *schola cantorum* came after the notaries, and they were followed by the regionary subdeacons, the subdeacons of the Lateran, and the prior of the subdeacons with a baton. After them walked eight cardinal-deacons two by two, followed by their prior also carrying a baton. After him, mounted on a horse with scarlet trappings, rode the Pope clad in a white chasuble (*planeta alba*). Close to him walked a subdeacon with a towel (*toalea* or *tagolia*).² The procession was closed by the prefect and the seven Palatine judges in copes, and was kept in order by the archdeacon and the prior of the Lateran basilica, who were instructed often to leave their places, in front of the Pope and the cardinal-deacons respectively, in order to see to the regularity of the procession.

This attractive cortège crossed the open space (*campus*) in front of the Lateran palace and, passing by the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, moved along the Via Major (now known as Santi Quattro), which led to the Colosseum. This gigantic monument, like most of the great ruins of antiquity, was then of living interest to the men who gazed upon it, for it was a fortress in

¹ The actual numbers are supplied by the *Gesta*, c. 7. Twenty-eight is given as the number of bishops. But this figure includes the cardinal-bishops.

² It was his business, says the *Ordo*, "ut cum voluerit d. Papa spuer, possit illo gausape os suum mundare."

the hands of a family, friendly or hostile to them as the case might be. Near this mighty stronghold the procession turned to the left, and by a route which corresponded more or less to the present Via del Colosseo, passed by the Arcus Aure, which stood near the existing little church of S. Andrea de Portugallo,¹ and then went, possibly *through*, but probably in front of, the entrance of the Forum of Nerva (the Forum Transitorium²), which lay between the Forum of Augustus and that of the Forum *Pacis* (or of Vespasian), to the church of St. Basil *de Arca Noe*³ in the Forum of Augustus. By a street corresponding to the modern "Via del Grillo," the procession next approached the "Militiæ Tiberianæ," the site of which is marked by the Torre delle Milizie. Thence it descended by the church of S. Abbaciro *de Militiis*,⁴ now destroyed, to the SS. Apostoli, where it turned to the left, and, after following the *Corso* for some distance, turned off by the "Via Quirinalis" to the church of S. Maria in Aquiro. Thence it proceeded to the Arch of Piety, and, leaving on the left the church of St. Trypho *in Posterula*, now destroyed,⁵ went along the bank of the river to the bridge of St. Angelo. Crossing

¹ The locality in which this church stood was also known in Innocent's time as *in Gallicis* as well as *in Aura*. The church is now generally called S. Maria ad Nives.

² That is, in the direction of the modern Via della Croce Bianca. Lanciani prefers the route by the streets Colosseo, Cardello, Agnello, avoiding the Forum of Nerva.

³ A corruption of Nerva. The church is also known as S. Giovanni *de Campo Turriciano*, from its nearness to the Torre de' Conti, built by Innocent's brother Richard.

⁴ Armellini, *Chiese di Roma*, p. 180, regards it as difficult to fix the site of this church, but says: "Io opino che fosse presso la salita del Quirinale detta *Magnanopoli*, non lungi dalla torre che più tardi fu detta *delle Milizie*"—an opinion which is in harmony with our text.

⁵ It was not far from St. Apollinaris. It was destroyed to build the monastery of St. Augustine, which is now the headquarters of the Ministry of Marine. Armellini, *l.c.*, p. 350.

the bridge, it made its way to St. Peter's after entering the covered portico near the pyramid known as the "sepulchre of Romulus."¹

Innocent
is conse-
crated.

On entering the basilica, Innocent was at once escorted to the chapel of St. Gregory, in the near left-hand corner of the church, to be robed in the pontifical vestments.² These were put upon him in order: the sandals and buskins, the amice, the alb, the girdle with its *subcinctorium*,³ the pectoral cross, the fanon⁴ or orale, the stole, the tunic

¹ This itinerary is taken from the *Ordo* of Benedict, ap. *Le Liber Censuum*, ii. p. 155. Cf. the notes of Duchesne, *ib.*, pp. 62-3, ed. Fabre-Duchesne. Cf. Lanciani's ed. of the *Ordo* (Rome, 1891), with his beautiful map.

² Not much is said about the ceremony of consecration in the strictly contemporary *Ordo* of Cencius Camerarius. This particular item of the vesting-place is taken from what we may call the *second* of the thirteenth-century *Ordos*, that of Pope Gregory X. (1271-6), *i.e.*, *Ordo Romanus XIII.*, that of Cencius being the *first*. The *third* is that of Cardinal Gaetani Stefaneschi (*O. R. XIV.*), the nephew of Boniface VIII. As the cardinal was only born in 1295, it is obvious that his *Ordo* was really only drawn up in the early part of the fourteenth century. But for practical purposes the *Ordos XII.*, *XIII.*, and *XIV.* (all ap. *P. L.*, t. 78) may be regarded as belonging to the beginning, middle, and end of the thirteenth century. These *Ordos* on the point of the consecration of the Popes should be compared with formula 77 (p. 46, ed. Sickel) of the *Liber Diurnus* (seventh century; cf. *supra*, i. pt. i. p. 352 f.).

³ The *subcinctorium* seems to have been a purse in the time of Cencius Camerarius, but by the time of Durandus (†1296) it appears to have assumed its present shape of a "maniple-like appendage." It was clearly connected with the girdle "cingulum cum subcinctorio" (*O. R. XIII.*). Innocent himself, *De sacro myst.*, i. 37, speaks "de zona sive cingulo, . . . *cujus succinctorium*." Cf. *ib.*, c. 52.

⁴ The fanon is described by Dr. Rock as "an oblong piece of white silk gauze of some length, striped across its width with narrow bars, alternately gold, blue, and red. . . . It is cast upon the head of the Pope like a hood, and its two ends are wrapped, one over the right and one over the left shoulder, and thus kept until the Holy Father is clad in the chasuble, when the fanon is thrown back and made to hang smoothly and gracefully above and all around the shoulders of that vestment, like a tippet." Cited by Macalister, *Ecclesiastical Vestments*, p. 134, London, 1896. All these vestments are mentioned by

and the dalmatic, then gloves, and the chasuble, and finally the mitre.

Thus arrayed, Innocent, beneath a canopy carried by the Mapularii,¹ was escorted to the high altar by the prelates, preceded by seven torch-bearers and by a thurifer.² When all had taken their places in front of the altar, the consecration of the Bishop of Rome elect was performed with much the same ceremonies and prayers as are used in consecrating a bishop to-day.³ There will be found to be in both cases the same prayers; the litanies; the imposition of the open book of the Gospels on the head of the elect with the words: "Receive the Holy Ghost"; the anointings; and the presentation of the ring (placed upon the ring-finger of the right hand), and of the book of the Gospels.

But the older prayers are fuller. God in His care for the *universal* Church was implored to bestow "His grace on His servant whom He had given as prelate of the Apostolic See, as primate of all the bishops of the world, and as teacher of the universal Church; and whom he had chosen for the office of chief Bishop ('et ad summi sacerdotii ministerium elegisti')." ⁴

Innocent III. himself (*l.c.*), though he does not give a name to the cross which is worn "in pectore," and he calls the fanon the orale, The fanon is now only used by the Pope when in full pontificals. Cf. Barbier de Montault, *Œuvres*, iii. p. 450 f.

¹ *Ordo XII.*, c. xxi. n. 45.

² "Procedit electus de secretario cum cerostatim septem et venit ad confessionem," says the short notice in the seventh-century *Liber Diurnus*; "Cruce papali præeunte cum faculis vii. et incenso omnes de loco in quo est vestitus veniunt processionaliter ad altare," says (c. 6) the *O. R. XIII.* of the thirteenth century.

³ Cf. *O. R. XIII.*, c. 6 f., with a modern pontifical.

⁴ *Liber Sacrament.* of Pope Gregory I., p. 224, ed. *P. L.*, t. 78. The *O. R. XIII.* notes that *universal* must be added to *Church*. Cf. the old form of the consecration of a bishop given by Bingham, *The Antiquities of the Christian Church*, i. 50, ed. London, 1878, and the few details by the *Liber D.*, given *supra*, vol. i. pt. i. p. 360.

The giving of the pallium is the only part of the ceremony specially noted by Cencius. When the bishop of Ostia had completed the actual consecration, the prior of St. Lawrence, *i.e.*, the Sancta Sanctorum of the Lateran,¹ placed upon the altar the pallium which he had himself prepared with his own hand. Taken from the altar by the archdeacon and the second deacon, it was placed by them in Innocent's hands, whilst the archdeacon said: "Receive the pallium, to wit, the plenitude of the pontifical office, to the glory of Almighty God, of the most glorious Virgin His Mother, of the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and of the Holy Roman Church." The archdeacon and the prior then fixed it on Innocent's shoulders by means of three golden pins, with jacinth heads, placing one in each of the lapels and one on the part which rested on the left shoulder.²

After the reception of the pallium, the Pope incensed the altar, and said the *Gloria in Excelsis* and the Collects; but, before the reading of the epistle, there took place the solemn chanting of the *laudes*. The cardinal-archdeacon, baton in hand, marshalled, in two equal groups before Innocent, the deacons, subdeacons, judges, and notaries, and, raising his voice, sang in recitative: ³ "Hear us, O Christ." To this in the same tone the judges and notaries replied: "To our lord the Pope, by God's decrees chief bishop and universal Pope, long life!" Thrice was this repeated; and thrice did the archdeacon call on the "Saviour of the World," and thrice on "Holy Mary," and to each invocation the notaries and judges responded, "Do you help him!" And when the archdeacon invoked in turn St. Gabriel, St. Raphael, St. John Baptist,

¹ Otherwise called the prior of the "basilicarian subdeacons."

² Cencius, *l.c.*, p. 312.

³ "Alta voce, tamen quasi legendo . . . in cantu quasi legendo." *O. R. XIII.*, c. 7.

St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Andrew, St. Stephen, St. Leo, St. Gregory, St. Benedict, St. Basil, St. Sabas, St. Agnes, St. Cecily, St. Lucy, the judges and notaries continued their response : "Do you help him !" To the thrice-repeated *Kyrie eleison* of the archdeacon, thrice was returned the same invocation ; and the *laudes* came to an end by all chanting *Kyrie eleison* in unison.¹ The epistle and gospel were next read first in Latin and afterwards in Greek, and then the rest of the Mass was said with the customary ceremonies.²

But before the Mass was over, Innocent himself The Pope preaches. preached the sermon which custom required on such occasions.³ A full analysis of it is here given, as it shows clearly what was Innocent's own conception of his position and of the duties it involved.

"Who thinkest thou is a faithful and wise servant, whom his lord hath appointed over his family, to give them meat in season" (St. Matt. xxiv. 45)?

To this question propounded in the Word of God, Innocent proceeded to give an answer drawn from the same source. The faithful servant is the Holy See, which God has Himself set over His family ; for He Himself said : "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it" (St. Matt. xvi. 18). God Himself laid the foundation of the church, nay, He is Himself its foundation. Hence is the Holy See not depressed when adversities overtake her, for she knows that she is

¹ *O. R. XII.*, c. 7. We can now return to the strictly contemporary *Ordo XII.* of Cencius.

² *Cf. supra*, vol. i. pt. i. p. 288 ff.

³ At any rate among his sermons there is one (*Sermo ii.*), "In consecratione Pont. Max." ap. *P. L.*, t. 217, p. 653 ff. If it was not preached on his actual consecration day, it was preached on some anniversary of it. *Cf. Sedgwick, Italy in the Thirteenth Century*, i., chap. iii. "Innocent the Preacher."

strengthened by them : " When I was in distress, thou hast enlarged me " (Ps. iv. 1) ; and she is consoled because her Founder is with her " all days even to the consummation of the world " (St. Matt. xxviii. 20). As then the Apostolic See comes from God, in vain does the heretic strive to destroy it ; for, as Gamaliel said : " If it be of God, you cannot overthrow it " (Acts v. 39).

I then am that servant whom the Lord has placed over His family. May I be found " faithful and prudent." I confess myself the servant, not the Lord of all, speaking in the spirit of my first and greatest predecessor when he said : " Not as lording it over the clergy, but being made a pattern of the flock from the heart " (1 Pet. v. 3).

To be set over the household is to be given a position, if very honourable, certainly very onerous ; for I am become a debtor to all. Hence must I have faith for all. But I rely on Him who said : " I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not ; and thou being once converted confirm thy brethren " (St. Luke xxii. 32). Hence " the faith of the Apostolic See has never failed in any emergency, but has ever remained whole and undefiled, that the privilege of Peter may endure unshaken." ¹

I must, too, be prudent, very prudent, to be able to solve the knotty questions that are brought before the Pope, to clear away doubts, to discover the merits of cases, to observe the due course of justice, to expound the Scriptures, to preach to the people, to correct evildoers, to strengthen the weak, to confound heretics, and to confirm Catholics.

But, in choosing me for this work, God has shown that all that is to be done will be done through Him ; for " who am I that I should sit above kings (*excellētiore*

¹ " Et ideo fides apostolicę sedis in nulla nunquam turbatione defecit, sed integra semper et illibata permansit ; ut Petri privilegium persisteret inconcussum." *Ib.*, p. 656.

regibus),¹ and occupy the throne of glory? for to me is it said: 'Lo! I have set thee this day over the nations and kingdoms, to root up, to pull down, and to waste and to destroy, and to build and to plant'" (Jer. i. 10). To me also is it said: "To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven" (St. Matt. xvi. 19).

Then, apparently confusing the Syriac word *Cephas* with the Greek word *κεφαλῆ*, he quotes: "Thou shalt be called Cephas" (St. John i. 42), and says that the Pope is called the head because he has the plenitude of power. "You see then," he continued, "who is the servant whom the Lord has set over His household, to wit, the vicar of Jesus Christ, the successor of Peter, the Christ of the Lord, the God of Pharaoh, one set as an intermediary between God and man, . . . less than God, more than man, who has to judge all, but is himself judged by no man;² for the apostle has declared, 'He that judgeth me is the Lord'" (1 Cor. iv. 4).

"But let the duty of being the servant of all keep in humility the man whom so sublime a dignity exalts, so that the dignity may be lowly, and the humility sublime."

If it be the fact that to whom more is given from him more will be required, what account will he have to give to whom all are entrusted? "Now all who are of the household (*de familia*) of the Lord have been placed under his care"; for the Lord spoke not of different

¹ Cf. the words of Abbot William, writing to Celestine II. in the name of the king of Denmark: "Quis non gratanter accipiat paternitatem vestram regibus atque principibus præsideri"? Ep. ii. 79, ap. Bouquet, *R. F. SS.*, xix. p. 313, or *P. L.*, t. 209.

² Cf. a letter of the Emperor Otho to Innocent: "Et Deo et vobis, qui vicem ejus geritis . . . gratiarum exsolvimus actiones." *Reg. L.*, ep. 193, ap. *P. L.*, t. 216, p. 1172.

families, but of one family, in order that there might be "one fold and one shepherd" (St. John x. 16).

But he has been set over the family that he may give it food in season. The Primacy of Peter was thrice constituted by our Lord Jesus Christ; viz., before, during, and after His passion. Before His passion when He said: "Thou art Peter," etc. (St. Matt. xvi. 18); during His passion when He prayed for Peter's faith (St. Luke xxii. 32); and after His passion when He thrice commanded St. Peter to feed His sheep (St. John xxi. 15 ff.). In the first passage there is expressed the grandeur of his power, in the second the constancy of his faith, in the third the feeding of the flock.

Now he must feed the flock "by the example of his life,¹ by his teaching, and by the bread of life (*sacramento communionis*)."

Innocent concludes his discourse by reminding his hearers that he has set before them the food of the Word, and begs them to pray God that his weak shoulders may support the intolerable burden put upon them "to the glory of His name, to the salvation of my soul, to the advancement of the Universal Church, and to the advantage of the whole Christian People."

When at length all the impressive² ceremonies connected with the consecration were over, Innocent and his suite

¹ He quotes Juvenal to show the danger to himself if he gives not good example:

"Omne animi vitium tanto conspectius in se
Crimen habet, quanto qui peccat major habetur."

Sat. viii., line 140.

² *Gesta*, c. 7: "Fuit apud S. Petrum in episcopum consecratus . . . non sine manifesto signo et omnibus admirando." Men were much affected at the sight of the impression which his consecration made on the sensitive soul of the new Pope: "Quam ipse cum multa cordis compunctione et lacrymarum effusione recepit." With a sneer, delightfully French, but unworthy of the man, Luchaire suggests: "C'était peut-être aussi une tradition."

betook themselves to the outer steps of the basilica. There in sight of all the people, chanting the *laudes*, his investiture was completed by the cardinal-archdeacon's placing on his head "the crown which is called the regnum."¹ He was now both Priest and King.²

Then, to enable the cavalcade to make its way back to the Lateran, the seneschal scattered money among the people.³

The pressure was at once relaxed, and the procession, crossing the Tiber, passing under the arch of the emperors Theodosius, Valentinian, and Gratian, of which there are remains near the church of St. Celsus, made its way to the palace of Chromatius.⁴ Here it made its first halt, whilst the Jews came forward to acclaim the Pope, and to offer him the roll of the Law for him to do it reverence (*ut adoret*).⁵

Another scattering of money from the top of the tower of Stephen Serpetri⁶ enabled the cortège to push on through the Parione quarter to the *Pinea*⁷ and to the palace of Cencius "Musca Inpunga" on the Via de Papa. Again took place a distribution of money, and the procession reached the church of St. Mark, where a further bestowal of largess enabled it to get to the church of St. Hadrian near the arch of Septimius Severus. For the

¹ *O. R. XIII.*, c. 8.

² In a sermon preached on an anniversary of his consecration, Innocent said: "Hæc autem sponsa (the Roman Church) non nupsit vacua, sed dotem mihi tribuit absque pretio pretiosam, spiritualium videlicet plenitudinem et latitudinem temporalium. . . . In signum spiritualium contulit mihi mitram, in signo temporalium dedit mihi coronam; mitram pro sacerdotio, coronam pro regno." *Serm. iii.*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 217, p. 665. *Cf. Serm. vii.*, ap. *ib.*, p. 481.

³ *Ordo XII.*, c. 16.

⁴ In front of the church of S. Lucia in Gonfalone.

⁵ *O. R. XIII.*, c. 10, "Offerunt sibi legem ut adoret."

⁶ "*Quæ est in capite Parrioni*," *O. R. XII.*, c. 16.

⁷ *Vide supra*, vol. x. p. 343.

last time were denarii flung to the people "from the palace of St. Martina," and the cavalcade, riding along the Forum, passed the palace of Pope John VII., rode under the arch of Titus and under triumphal arches erected by the Frangipani, and then, skirting the Meta Sudans and the arch of Constantine, turned to the left by the Colosseum and thus returned to the Lateran.¹

Mention has been made of the triumphal arches of the Frangipani "de Cartularia," but the fact was that the whole papal Via Triumphalis was green throughout its whole extent with arches of shrubs, and with branches of trees spread on the ground. From that by the steps of St. Peter, erected "by the masters of St. Peter," to those between S. Clemente and the Lateran, decorative arches, erected by different *scolæ* or guilds, by the clergy, by private families, or by groups of persons, adorned the whole route.² And if every part of this Triumphal Way was gay to look upon, it was also odoriferous. Thurifers from some three hundred and eleven churches and monasteries grouped themselves together at suitable places and caused the whole route of the papal procession to be fragrant from clouds of incense which they continued to waft into the air. They came not only from the great churches of St. Peter, St. Mary Major, and the like, but from the smaller ones, from Innocent's late church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, from the Irish Church (S. Trinitas Scottorum),³ from the church of Our Lady *in Savia*, which once belonged to the *Schola Anglorum*, from St. Sebastian *de Via pape*, from many churches *de Pinea*, from churches we have recently mentioned, such as from St. Andrew *Arcus Aure*, and from small chapels to

¹ Ordo of Benedict, c. 51.

² O. R. XII., c. 17.

³ If this was not a church built by the Scotti family. S. Salvator *Scottorum* also sent thurifers,

which no clergy were regularly attached (*e.g.*, from the chapel of St. Cesarius Grecharum).

On the return procession Innocent was accompanied by the prefect and the senator and by the nobility of the city, as well as by many representatives of the various cities of the League and of the States of the Church.¹

Arrived once more at the Lateran, one of Innocent's first tasks was to distribute the regulation gratuities to those who had taken part in the ceremony of the day. In these gratuities all shared, both the highest and the lowest, both the clergy and laity. Seated on a faldstool with a mantle thrown over his shoulders, Innocent with his own hand distributed the largess to the principal members of the clergy and nobility.² Those who had erected the arches were remunerated,³ as were the clergy who had acted as thurifers. The Jews, who in presenting the Old Testament to the Pope had offered him three and a half pounds of pepper and two and a half pounds of cinnamon, received a specially large donative. All the *scolæ* of the palace also received a fixed sum, but other officials of the Curia were dependent upon the goodwill of the camerarius for the donative which was awarded to them.⁴ Even the great *scolæ* or guilds of the city each

Distribu-
tion of the
donative or
presby-
terium.

¹ "Comitantibus præfecto et senatore, cum magnatibus et nobilibus Urbis multisque capitaneis et consulibus, ac rectoribus civitatum." *Gesta*, c. 7. In his description of these proceedings, Gregorovius, *Rome*, v. pt. i. p. 7 ff., relies too much on the late *Ordo XIV.* of G. Stefaneschi. But *cf.* a contemporary's description of the procession of Gregory IX., ap. *Vita*, c. 4, in *Lib. Cens.*, ii. 18 f.

² *Ordo XII.*, c. i. n. 4. *Cf. ib.*, c. iii. n. 8, c. xii. n. 26. The average donative given to the principal clergy and laity was perhaps a melechin, a small gold coin worth about five shillings; but the prior of the cardinal-bishops received four melechins and four solidi of Pavia.

³ *Ib.*, c. xvi. n. 38. "Romanis pro arcubus datur presbyterium xxxv libras provesin., clericis vero pro turribus xxxiii libras prov. et dimid." *Cf. nn.* 39, 40, and c. xlviii. n. 82.

⁴ *Ib.*, n. 82. "Familia quoque et curiales presbyterium habent juxta camerarii voluntatem."

received a gratuity. Such were the *Adextratores*, who guarded the papal crown; the *Ostiarii*, who guarded the palace; the *Majores*, a sort of mounted police for the papal processions; the *Masons*¹ and the rest. But, as the *Camerarius* is careful to note, seeing that these donatives were given to the guilds in view of services rendered to the Curia, it is quite possible that not all of them were granted gratuities on this occasion.²

Some of the more important functionaries were granted donatives in kind as well as in money. The chief seneschal received not only a silver dish (*scutella*) to the value of three and a half marks, but also a dinner of fifteen covers which he had to eat with his friends "in panettaria" before the Pope returned from St. Peter's. He was also entitled to receive from the head butler (or cupbearer—*pincerna*) an agnaricia of spiced wine or hippocrass (*claretum*), and one of wine; and to have sent to his own house six boars' heads ready for use, a measure of lard (*sepi*, for *sebi* or *cepi*), and half the skins of all the beasts slaughtered for the feast.³ The head butler (*magister pincerna*) was to be supplied with a silver cup

¹ Both those of St. Peter (*Muratores S. Petri*) and ordinary masons. Statutes of the guild of masons dating as far back as 1397 are known. Cf. Rodocanachi, *Les corporations ouvrières à Rome*, i. 409, Paris, 1894. Sixteen of these *scolæ* are named in the *Ordo XII.*, c. xix., n. 42, as receiving donatives on various occasions.

² They all received donatives at Christmas and Easter. As for the services they were bound to render, it may be noted that the *Caldararii* had to make new cauldrons and saucepans and to repair the old ones when they were called upon by the Pope's head cook so to do. Whilst thus employed they were supplied with the necessary iron and charcoal, and given four denarii a day with their food. The *Carbonarii* had to supply the fuel for the coronation and for the repair of the cauldrons. The *Fiolarii* or *Fialarii* had undertaken to furnish the lamps and candles for the illumination of the Lateran palace, whenever there was need, etc. *Ordo XII.*, c. xxv. n. 49 ff.

³ *Ib.*, n. 53.

of the value of three and a half marks, while he in turn had to give to each of his assistants (*butticularii cotidianarii d. pape*) a silken girdle. His other perquisites were the same as those of the chief seneschal. At the official banquet with the Pope each senator was allowed a half sauma¹ of wine and a similar quantity of hippocrass, and he was further supplied with a dinner for forty covers. The prefect, besides being furnished with a dinner for fifteen friends, was given an iron-hooped barrel of hippocrass and one of wine.

When the Pope had finished distributing the regulation donatives, he adjourned² to the great triclinium of Pope Leo III. for the official banquet,³ which was a very representative gathering. Besides the magnates of the clergy and the laity there sat down with the Pope a certain number of the members of the various guilds. All the *Adextratores*, the *Mapularii* and *Cubicularii*,⁴ all the *Majorentes*, the *Vastararii*,⁵ the *Fiolarii*, the ironworkers (*Ferrarii*), and all the standard-bearers, and four of the *Ostiararii* had the right to "dine with the Lord Pope on the day of his coronation."

But with the customary presents the Romans were not content. Following the just criticisms of the authors of this age, those of St. Bernard, John of Salisbury, and Gerhoh of Reichersburg, Hurter notes that at

More
money for
the
Romans.

¹ Certainly in some places four saumæ went to the pipe of wine, containing some 365 pints.

² Escorted by the chief seneschal and the chief butler. During the dinner one of the cardinal-deacons read, and the *schola cantorum* sang. *O. R. XII.*, c. ii. n. 5.

³ "Ascendit in domum majorem, quæ Leonina vocatur, presbyterio per ordinem distributo, solemne convivium celebravit." *Gesta*, c. 7.

⁴ Cf. the interesting oath of the members of these three guilds not to try to extend their right to dine with the Pope. *Ap. Lib. Cens.*, i. 342, ed. Fabre.

⁵ They "faciunt candelas de junccis, papirum pro candelis aptantes." *O. R. XII.* n. 48.

this epoch "the people of Rome combined in their character all the faults of their pagan ancestors with those of the barbarians who had transformed Italy."¹ Particularly had they preserved the avarice which had been the disgrace of their pagan predecessors. Accordingly, no sooner had Innocent been elected than they clamoured to be allowed to take the oath of fealty to him at once, so that they might receive forthwith the presents customary on that occasion. But, no doubt lest he might seem to be paying a price for his election, he refused to entertain their request till after his consecration. When that ceremony was over, the Romans renewed their request in a still more turbulent fashion.² But even then Innocent would not straightway satisfy their demands. He looked first into the finances of the Holy See, and then took steps to prevent the greedy Romans from receiving more than was their strict due. A very little examination revealed the fact that these finances were in a deplorable condition (*pessimus*). Papal sovereign and private rights had been usurped by the Germans and by the Senate. Carushomo, who had made himself sole senator from 1191 to 1193, had taken from the Holy See the Maritima and the Sabina,³ and Henry VI. "had taken possession of the

¹ i. 120. Following him we will add to the many unfavourable notices of the Romans which we have already given that of Saba Malaspina, himself a Roman, who wrote c. 1284. He denounces their habit of tearing liberty to tatters, their proneness to dissensions, and their selfishness. "Quique (populus Urbis) frequenter consuevit illius modicæ libertatis reliquias . . . prodigaliter ac impudice distrahere. . . ." He then tells "eorum etiam obstinata dissensio, et natura semper invicem ad dissentiendum proclivior, quam numquam commune commodum, sed proprium dumtaxat affectat." *Hist.*, ii. c. 9, and c. 11, pp. 808, 810.

² "Sed, post consecrationem turbulentius conclamaret, deliberavit super hac petitione populi diligenter." *Gesta*, c. 8.

³ *Ib.* Cf. ep. ii. 239.

whole kingdom of Sicily and the whole patrimony of the Church up to the gates of the city except Campania, and even in it he was more obeyed than the Pope himself."¹ Despite, however, the unsatisfactory state of the papal exchequer, Innocent, in order to avoid exciting immediate unpopularity, decided to give the largess to the citizens after he had made secret careful inquiries into the number and status of the people in each region.²

But though he made this concession to the times, Innocent proceeded without a moment's delay to improve his position as temporal ruler of Rome and the Patrimony. On the very day after his consecration, he insisted on Peter, the prefect of the city, taking an oath of fealty to him, and acknowledging that he received his powers from him; for, from the time of the struggle between Barbarossa and Alexander III., the emperor had occasionally been able to institute the prefect himself.³ Innocent in person invested Peter of Vico with a mantle, and, sending envoys throughout the whole Patrimony, compelled all the barons to take an oath of fealty to him. Then, expelling the justiciaries who had been appointed by Carushomo and other senators, he not only nominated his own justiciaries, but caused the election of a senator devoted to him, and began to recover the patrimonies which had been lost, both within and without the city.⁴

¹ *Gesta*, c. 8.

² *Gesta*, *ib.* But he could not prevent fraud altogether. Roger of Hoveden appears to have been misinformed on this matter. He says that the Pope finally refused to grant the sums asked; whereupon the Romans plundered his possessions, and were excommunicated: *l.c.*, iv. 45.

³ *Gesta*, *ib.* Cf. Halphen, *L'administrat. de Rome*, p. 22 ff.

⁴ *Gesta*, *l.c.* Cf. ep. i. 23. The oath of the prefect is given ep. i. 577. He undertook to practise justice, to guard the fortresses placed under his control, and to resign when called upon to do so.

Innocent
exacts pro-
fessions of
obedience.

Innocent
notifies his
accession
to the
Catholic
world.

Now more assured of his position at home, the young Pope¹ notified to the Christian world that he had obtained "the most glorious possession to be found among men, the throne of Peter."² France was one of the first countries to be informed of his election, and he earnestly exhorted Philip Augustus, whose disregard for law would, he felt, soon cause a rupture between them, to follow, as the special son of the Church, the reverential footsteps of his father.³ Similar letters are extant to the bishops of France and England, and to the patriarch of Jerusalem,⁴ in which he excuses his youth, and earnestly begs for prayers, while at the same time he assures these prelates of his intention of giving them due honour and of helping them in their difficulties.

The
energy of
Innocent.

The Christian world now knew that for once its chief was a *juvenis*, a young man;⁵ and it was soon to learn, if it knew it not already, that its chief was a man of

¹ None of the chroniclers who speak at any length of Innocent, fails to call him young—*juvenis*; e.g., "Juvenis Romanus," *Ann. Stadenses*, 1198, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. 353; "Vir sicut juvenis," Gerlac, abbot of Mülhausen, *Ann. Milovicen.*, 1198, ap. *ib.*, xvii. 709.

² Ep. i. 11 to the patriarch of Jerusalem on his accession. God has brought it about that he "solium Petri, quo nihil est inter homines gloriosius, obtinere."

³ i. 2.

⁴ Ep. i. 1 was sent both to bishops of France and to those of England. See *Epp. Cantuar.*, p. 385, R.S.; or ap. Roger of Hoveden, an. 1198, iv. 42, R.S. Cf. ep. i. 3, and 11.

⁵ Hence the Minnesinger Walter von der Vogelweide introduces an anxious hermit praying:

"He cried to God, 'Thy Kingdom come'!
Alas! the Pope is far too young;
In mercy help thy Christendom!"

Ap. Phillips, *Poems of W.*, p. 98.

Cf. Gerlac, *Ann. Pragenses*, an. 1198, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvii. p. 709. "Vir sicut juvenis et in utroque jure doctissimus, ita et immobiliter tenax sui propositi." "Estate juvenis, sed sensu et moribus senex." Ign. Cisterc., *Chron.*, 1197, p. 33.

remarkable energy, of broad views, of lofty aims, and of uncompromising character.

The feebleness that necessarily accompanied Celestine's extreme old age had resulted in a considerable accumulation of work in the papal chancery. That, however, despite his age, the late Pope got through a very large amount of work is clear even from Innocent's correspondence, which at every turn refers to documents "of our predecessor Celestine of blessed (or happy) memory." Still, Celestine left many questions undecided, many letters unanswered.

Without waiting to be consecrated, Innocent at once applied himself to the task of clearing off the arrears of communications; and correspondents in various parts of Europe, especially no doubt the poorer ones, were astonished at receiving letters from him with only a half leaden bulla attached to them.

Many were unaware that a custom was growing up in virtue of which a Pope-elect was wont to employ only imperfect or unfinished leaden bulla before his consecration. Hence it was that Innocent found it necessary to notify the prelates of the Christian world, and through them those whom it might concern, that bulls issued before his consecration, furnished with a half bulla, were as authentic as those subsequently despatched with an entire bulla appended to them.¹ Light may be thrown on this passage by another from a letter of an unknown Pope

Innocent
explains
his "half
bullæ."

¹ "Statim post electionem nostram tam *pauperum* quam aliorum apud sedem apostolicam existentium petitionibus intendere coepimus et eorum negotia promovere. . . . Verum quoniam insolitum fuit hactenus ut sub dimidia bulla litteræ apostolicæ mitterentur, . . . universas litteras, quæ ab electionis nostræ die usque ad solemnitatem consecrationis sub bulla dimidia emanarunt, parem cum illis firmitatem obtinere decernimus quæ in bulla integra dirriguntur." Ep. i. 83. Hence there are many more letters in the first vol. of Innocent's register than in any other.

to a king.¹ "Wonder not," is the conclusion of the letter, "that a bulla not stamped with our name is appended to this document which is being despatched before the solemnity of our consecration or benediction, because the Roman pontiffs are wont to observe this method of sealing their letters (*in bullandis litteris*) before their consecration."²

Had we no words of Innocent himself on the subject, his Register, which everywhere bears the impression of his own hand, is proof enough of his remarkable energy. But he has often described the enormous amount of work which he was called upon to perform, work as much in the temporal³ as in the spiritual order, and which, little as he liked it, he could not avoid. "Since our Lord," he wrote, "in the person of Blessed Peter (whose successor He has made us though unworthy) has set the Church over all spiritual concerns, and has, even in temporal matters, given it a large interest, it is proper that we should strive to do something at least for the said Blessed Peter in the persons of you his canons, or

¹ This letter "of a pope to a king" is ep. 202 among the letters of Peter of Blois, ap. *P. L.*, t. 207, pp. 485-6. It is perhaps from Celestine III., who was not consecrated for a month and a half after his election, and hence would have had plenty of opportunities as Pope-elect of writing to "a king" (Henry VI.). The letter is an exhortation to a king to take up the cause of the Holy Land, the troubles of which "vidimus et propria manu palpavimus in minori ordini constituti." But I cannot say when Hyacinth Bobo came into special contact with the affairs of the East.

² Cf. *Ordo Romanus XIII.* of Pope Gregory X. (1271-6), n. 4. "Electus . . . si scribat aliquas litteras alicui ante suam consecrationem, bullare faciet litteras ipsas cum illa parte bullæ in qua sunt capita apostolorum ex una parte, ex altera vero erit plana, cum nondum sit consecratus in papam," etc. Ap. *P. L.*, t. 78, p. 1106.

³ *Reg. I.*, ep. 16, ap. *P. L.*, t. 216. He here notes that, amid the "innumerable anxieties" which beset him, he ought not to concern himself with temporal affairs ("quia tamen spiritualia tamquam digniora, volumus ut debemus omnibus anteferre"), still he cannot leave unnoticed the manifest excesses of the clergy and the laity; for these he must punish, as the duty of "judging judgment" has been put on him by God.

rather for Christ in him who has done all for us. . . . It is then right that whilst we, overwhelmed by pressure of business, strive to reform relaxed religion,¹ to give justice to the oppressed, to reply to consultations, to reconcile those at enmity, to send legates *a latere* for the various needs of churches and provinces, and to take thought for the succour of the East—it is then right that, as we cannot (for these reasons) frequent the basilica of St. Peter's as we ought, we should at least honour it with presents.”²

To cope with the work here outlined by himself, Innocent had in truth need of the greatest energy. But his very zeal for work, and the manner in which he carried it through, did but increase it for him. His capacity for business, his quick grasp of difficult problems, and above all his burning passion for justice, caused ever more and more cases to be submitted to him.³

His consuming energy and his knowledge of the weaknesses of some of his agents made him desirous of proceeding himself to the different countries of Europe to remedy abuses, and to promote the cause of God. He wished to imitate the apostles or his great predecessor St. Leo IX., and he told our King Richard the Lion-hearted, that, although he had innumerable calls upon his time, he hoped in due course to pay a visit to his country, so that they might discuss what would be for the profit of the whole of Christendom.⁴ He regretted that he could not fly to the different countries “in the twinkling of an eye,” and do everything himself.⁵

¹ Innocent took a gloomy view of the religious condition of the world in his day: “status mundi, qui superabundante malitia quasi versus est in ruinam.” *Reg. I.*, ep. 179.

² Ep. i. 536.

³ “Cum tot sustineas et tanta negotia mundi Gens te tota tremit, tibi soli supplicat Orbis,” says the contemporary author of the *Carmen de Ottonis IV. destitutione*, ap. Leibnitz, *SS. Rer. Brunsvic.*, ii. p. 525.

⁴ Ep. i. 230. “Ut super his . . . quæ toti Christianitati credimus profutura . . . procedamus.”

⁵ Ep. i. 345.

His love of justice, and his skill in administering it.

Being uniformly just,¹ says his biographer, "innumerable cases were laid before him, and in his pontificate he decided many more important questions than had been decided in many previous pontificates."² To settle the affairs that were brought to his court, Innocent revived the custom which had fallen into desuetude of holding a public consistory thrice every week. When he had heard the various causes, he handed over the less important ones to be dealt with by others. But the more important ones he examined himself; and he handled them with such skill as to excite general admiration. Men learned in the law flocked to Rome just to hear him, and Innocent himself tells of a lawyer who was so struck with his judicial fairness that he threw himself at his feet, crying out in the words of the Psalmist: "Thou art just, O Lord; and thy judgment is right."³ Others declared that they learnt more in his consistories than in the schools, especially when they listened to him passing sentence.⁴ So admirably did he sum up the two sides, that it was said that each party felt sure of success when they heard him present their arguments. Nor, we are told, was there any advocate who came before him who was so clever as not greatly to dread his searching questions (*oppositiones*).⁵

¹ "Erat justus et constans." *Gesta*, c. 36. How far his love of justice carried him may be gathered from his giving money to his opponents to enable them to institute a lawsuit against his brother. *Ib.*, c. 137.

² *Ib.*, cc. 41 and 42. In the latter: "Ob hoc (his love of justice) ad ejus audientiam tot et tantæ cœperunt de toto orbe causæ perferri ut plures et majores causas ipse suo tempore diffiniverit, quam a longis retro temporibus in Romana fuerint Ecclesia diffinitæ."

³ Ps. cxviii. 137. Ep. i. 85.

⁴ And well they might, for we read of him lucidly summing up a case which had lasted four years. "Papa in consistorio sedente et quatuor annorum labores inter partes habitos ad memoriam plenius reducente, . . . formam compositionis . . . promulgavit." Will., n. 184, *ubi infra*.

⁵ *Gesta*, c. 41.

Another reason why so many causes were brought before Innocent's tribunal was his readiness to deal with the interests of the poor. We have already seen how he began to investigate their demands and complaints as soon as ever he was elected to the Papacy, and after he became Pope he listened to their troubles first.¹ His court was also popular because, as a rule, he used despatch in dealing with the cases which came before it; he abridged the law's delays.² But no doubt his absolute integrity was the chief reason why his tribunal was so thronged. He was no acceptor of persons, nor were his hands ever soiled by a bribe.³

He was, moreover, extremely anxious to prevent those under him from making the administration of justice a matter for bargaining.⁴ In his anxiety to cleanse the Roman Church from the charge of venality, he had scarcely become Pope ere he issued a decree forbidding any official of the Curia to exact any remuneration for his services, except those who had to register and despatch the papal bulls, *i.e.*, the *scriptores* and the *bullarii*. But at the same time he fixed a definite charge which these latter might not exceed, and he removed the doorkeepers from the offices of the notaries that all might have ready access to them.⁵

Innocent
opposes
corruption.

¹ "Papa *consueto more* post missam in consistorio residens et miserabilium personarum petitiones recipiens, præcepit," etc. Will. of Andres, *Chron.*, n. 173, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxiv. p. 745.

² *Gesta*, c. 41. "Easque (the sentences) cum multa maturitate, de liberatione præhabita, proferebat."

³ *Ib.* "Fuit autem in ferendis sententis ita justus, ut nunquam propinas (or personas) acciperet, nunquam a via regia declinaret." *Cf.* c. 4.

⁴ *Cf.* ep. i. 376 to the clergy of Lombardy forbidding the selling of justice.

⁵ *Gesta*, c. 41. Hence Honorius III. in a letter of January 28, 1225, speaks of "bullæ redditum consuetum." Ap. Walter of Coventry, *Memoriale*, ii. p. 275, R.S. According to Roger of Hoveden he

There was within the precincts of the Lateran palace itself¹ a kind of exchange and mart, of which we have already spoken, where jewellers and money-changers daily plied their trade. With the zeal of Him who overturned the tables of the money-changers, says his biographer, Innocent ordered this mart to be entirely removed from the palace.²

Moreover, that he might be the freer to denounce the luxury of the great, especially of the higher clergy (*maxime in prælatis*), he set an example of modest and frugal living in his own person. Vessels of gold and silver were replaced by those of wood and glass; expensive furs by the skins of lambs.³ Except on special occasions no more than three different kinds of dishes were served at his table, and no more than two at the tables of his chaplains; and he was waited upon by ecclesiastics, the service of nobles being reserved for state occasions.⁴ But although the young sons of the nobility (*quos valettos appellant*) who had hitherto attended on the Pope were thus banished from the papal court, Innocent

dismissed the greater number of the janitors of the whole palace so that all might enjoy freer access to himself. *Chron.*, 1198, iv. p. 44, R.S.

¹ "In transitu juxta cisternam coquinæ, nummulariorum mensa locata." *Gesta*, c. 41. Traders were always endeavouring to establish themselves in the immediate vicinity of the Pope or of his palace. After the Popes had taken up their residence at the Vatican, thither flocked the traders, and in 1325 we find the canons of St. Peter's instituting proceedings against them, inasmuch as they had taken possession for trading purposes of part of the piazza and steps of St. Peter's—"certam partem platee et scalarum ipsius basilice spectantem . . . ponendo ibi tabulas et bancas ac alia opera faciendo." Document ap. *Archivio S. Pietro in Vatic.*, caps. v., fasc. 261, quoted in full ap. *Mélanges d'archéol. et d'hist.*, 1910, p. 337 ff.

² *Gesta*, c. 41.

³ "Pelles amellinas et grisias transtulit in agninas." *Ib.*, c. 148. But though he would have his own house and table poor, he thought it proper that God's house should be beautiful. "In capella sua vasa auri posuit universa . . . ut adeo dives capella visa non fuerit tam in materia quam in forma." *Ib.* c. 145.

⁴ *Ib.*

provided handsomely for them, so that in due course they might become knights.¹

Whatever immediate good results followed Innocent's efforts against bribery and corruption, it is not to be supposed that he succeeded in rooting the national vice of avarice out of the Romans, or in silencing malicious tongues ever ready, in season and out of season, to throw up the charge of greed of gold against the Roman Curia. Unfortunately for Innocent, it happened that the greatest of the Minnesingers, Walter von der Vogelweide,² espoused the cause of Philip of Suabia against Otho in the struggle for the Empire which we shall presently have to relate.³ Accordingly, when in the course of the struggle Innocent sided with the latter, Walter did not hesitate to allow political zeal to get the better of sober judgment.⁴ With a supposed hermit he cried to God :

"Alas! the Pope is far too young ;
In mercy help thy Christendom!"⁵

¹ *Gesta*, c. 150. "Dans singulis summam pecuniæ, de qua cingulo militari possent honorabiliter insigniri."

² He appears to have been born between 1165 and 1170 and to have died about 1230. What we here say about Walter is for the most part drawn from *Selected Poems of W. von d. Vog.*, by W. A. Phillips, London, 1896.

³ "To the Emperor and the Crown I am allied," are Walter's own words, and show his political bias. Ap. J. Bithell, *The Minnesingers*, vol. i., translations, p. 87, Halle, 1909.

⁴ Phillips, p. xxxii, says : "We may well doubt whether the extreme language which he uses had any real justification." His anti-papal rhymes "can appear only as the utterances of an eager if sincere partisanship, possibly even of a party passion which had lost all sense of moderation and dignity." . . . "And, of all mediæval Popes, the greatest, in the magnificence of his schemes, in the clearness of his outlook, and in the strength and nobility of his personal character was Innocent III., whom Walter . . . denounces as a second Judas, and accuses of being in league with the devil"! *Ib.* p. xxxiii. Lange, p. 170, *Walther v. der V.*, says the same with regard to W. and Innocent. "W. . . a singulièrement dépassé la mesure."

⁵ Phillips, p. 98. Cf. other similar passages in Bithell, p. 92 f.

Exagger-
ated
charges of
love of
money
often
brought
against
Rome,

Nor does he shrink from comparing Innocent even to Judas :

“We all make moan—yet know not what it is that grieves us—
That ’tis the Pope himself, our father who deceives us.
Oh ! in how fatherly a way he now precedes us !
We follow in his steps whitherso’er he leads us.
Now, all the world, to what I blame in this give heed :
If he be greedy, all men ape his greed :
If he tells lies, his lies they all repeat :
If he deceive, they join in his deceit.
Mark well, whoever thinks my words amee—
In this wise this new Judas will as the old one speed.”¹

In no more measured language did another of Philip’s partisans, the German chronicler, Burchard of Ursberg, gibe at the alleged venality of Rome. “Rejoice,” he jeered in mockery, “rejoice, O thou our mother Rome, that the cataracts of earth’s treasures are opened, and that rivers of gold flow abundantly into thy bosom. . . . It is not devotion and a pure conscience that draws men to thee, but the perpetration of countless crimes, and the decision of legal cases bought with gold.”²

If Innocent’s manly efforts to suppress an abuse could not close the mouths of loud-voiced partisans, neither could they prevent the parsimonious gossip, Matthew Paris, from propagating exaggerated statements, not to say lies, regarding his endeavours to procure money from

¹ Phillips, p. 107. “Yet,” notes Phillips, “in Walter’s most bitter denunciations of Rome, it is the Popes, and not the Papacy, that he attacks. . . . The Pope to him is still ‘The Lord’s shepherd,’ though he is become a ‘wolf among his flock’; he is God’s ‘treasurer,’ though he ‘steals from the heavenly store’; he is Christ’s Vicar, though he ‘robs and slays with fire and sword’!” *Ib.*, p. xxxiii. According to Scherer, *A Hist. of German Literature*, i. 189, Eng. trans., Oxford, 1886, “In the year 1215, an Italian canon, Thomasin von Zirclaria, . . . accused W . . . of leading the people astray, of befooling thousands by one of his poems, and making them disobedient to God and to the commands of the Pope.” The canon himself wrote some poems in German. *Thom. of Zir.*, ed. H. Rückert, Quedlinburg, 1852.

² *Chron.*, 1198, pp. 76–7, ed. *in usum schol.*

the prelates who attended the Lateran Council of 1215. To the monk of St. Albans, "who loved not Rome,"¹ the possessions of his abbey were as the apple of his eye, and anyone who made any demand upon them for any purpose whatsoever was sure of being cordially denounced by him. This prejudiced and unreliable monk² stands alone³ in asserting that, before Innocent would allow the prelates who had come to Rome for the Lateran Council to return to their homes, he exacted a large sum of money from them.⁴

¹ So says Luchaire, i. 210.

² Matthew Paris is profoundly mistrusted by modern historians, whether our own or foreigners. Lingard, *Hist. of England*, ii. 196 n., doubts the assertions of M. P. when he is not supported by other documents. Cf. *ib.*, p. 197 n., and p. 237 n. Luard, *On the Relations between England and Rome*, p. 66, Cambridge, 1877, speaks of the "very strong antipapal bias of Matthew Paris." G. Lemcke, *Beiträge zur Geschichte König Richards von Cornwall*, Berlin, 1909, also insists that, on account of his many errors, his assertions must always be carefully checked by contemporary sources. Mr. A. L. Smith, *Church and State in the Middle Ages*, p. 168 ff., reminds us that he was "a hard hitter and a good hater"; that he was "prejudiced," and that "his evidence has to be very carefully scrutinised, for it ranges in value from first-hand priceless testimony to the most extravagant and worthless gossip." If his editor Luard allows that, with regard to the mendicant orders, he was "perhaps prejudiced against these" (*Chron. maj.*, vii. p. xviii, R.S.), Stevenson, *Rob. Grosseteste*, p. 160 f., asserts that he "was naturally and necessarily prejudiced by his environment in regard to all that concerned the rights and privileges of the monks." The fact is, he cannot speak with an approach to fairness of the friars who took some of the monastic privileges, or of Popes or civil rulers who wanted some of the monastic money.

³ What is said by Giraldus Camb., *Spec. Eccles.*, iv. 19, does not support M. P., as we shall show in treating of the Lateran Council.

⁴ *Chron. maj.*, 1215, ii. 635; 1240, iv. p. 70; and *Hist. Anglor.*, 1216, ii. p. 174, all edd. R.S. In his *Vite Abbat. S. Alban.*, i. p. 263, R.S., he gives a specific example of what happened to Abbot William of St. Albans. But, even to Luchaire, who is disposed to believe in the said pecuniary exactions, this story does not carry conviction. "Nous avons peine à croire qu' Innocent III. ait montré, dans les requêtes pécuniaires qu'il adressa aux membres du concile lors de leur dispersion, l'avidité cynique que lui attribue Mathieu de Paris." vi. p. 89.

But if he could not sweeten the bitter tongue of the monk of St. Albans, Innocent could show both by word and by example how desirous he was of putting down bribery and corruption, and of preventing the very shadow of simony from attaching itself to his name. Writing to Abbot Stephen of Bologna, and to Gregory, a doctor of laws of the same place, to whom he had entrusted the examination of a case connected with the bishop of Alessandria, he says: "We invoke the testimony of Him who is our faithful witness in heaven . . . that we endeavour to settle the questions which are brought before the Apostolic See with all fairness and disinterestedness, . . . as those can testify who on various business affairs are in the habit of coming to the Roman Church." He proceeds to note that the examination of the bishop's case had proved that "he thought that the Pope could be induced to grant ecclesiastical property for money." The commissioners were accordingly ordered "to suspend the bishop publicly, so that what had befallen him might make others afraid of imitating his conduct."¹

Innocent's
great aim—
the reform
of the world
through
the
Church.

Innocent's determination not to allow life or death or the favour of any one whomsoever to separate him from the observance of strict justice,² and his regret that he could

According to Paris, William offered the Pope 5 marks when he went to take his leave of him, but, "amice redargutus," he had to give 100. "Hoc idem fecit Papa prelati universis."

¹ Ep. xiv. 114. Once, after he had had occasion to treat a bishop very severely, he received some silver vessels as a present from him. Not wishing to cause the poor bishop to despair of ever returning to favour again, he accepted the presents after a little hesitation, but sent a gold cup of greater value than the presents he had received, "ne putaret quod munus posset donatione corrumpi." *Gesta*, c. 44. *Cf. ib.*, c. 4.

² "Illam concepimus firmiter voluntatem, ut neque mors neque vita ab amplexu nos possit seu observatione justitiæ revocare." i. 230. *Cf. i.* 357.

not be everywhere at once and do everything himself,¹ sprang from this conviction that it was his to reform the world through the paramount power of the Church. His was unceasing care for all the churches,² because the "Apostolic See is the mother and mistress of all the churches";³ he was set over "peoples and kingdoms,"⁴ because he was the Father of all Christians, and because kings and princes were his spiritual sons. Hence he felt that he had a father's right and power to correct wrongdoing in his family, if that wrong were done even by the most distinguished of his sons.⁵ But if he believed that the "paterna potestas" over kings and peoples was his natural and acknowledged right, he wished to exercise his parental authority rationally, and in accordance with the dictates not merely of justice but of mercy. He was, therefore, most careful not to exercise his repressive powers without real reason, and to forbid his subordinates to exercise the power of excommunication without good and sufficient cause.⁶

Greatly did he bewail the evils of the times (*instantis temporis malitia*).⁷ There was a time, he sighed, when justice and peace kissed; now they are in exile, and violence and sedition, joining their perjured hands, boast that they have taken their place. The Church and the poor are robbed, and the weak are oppressed. Injustice

¹ i. 345.

² *Ib.* "Licet instantia nostra quotidiana sit omnium ecclesiarum sollicitudo."

³ i. 349.

⁴ i. 410.

⁵ Over the troubles caused by the double election in Germany "*paterna compassione dolemus.*" *Reg. I.*, 15. *Cf. ib.*, 19, "super ejus (the Empire's) divisione condolet et compatitur (ecclesia)"; and i. 401, "Et ideo licet ad universas provincias nostræ provisionis aciem extendere debeamus, specialiter tamen Italiæ *paterna* nos convenit *sollicitudine* providere."

⁶ ii. 230. *Cf.* ii. 257.

⁷ *Reg. I.*, 31.

has usurped the place of right, and law is made not by right reason but by arbitrary will, so that some seem to imagine that all that pleases them is right.¹

But it is his duty "to plant religion in the churches of God, and to cultivate it where it has already been planted;"² and it is "the desire of his heart that in his time the Christian religion may everywhere make more substantial progress."³ The care of all the faithful of Christ has been committed to him,⁴ and he will work that they may all obtain justice, and its first-fruit, peace.⁵ It is the special duty of the father and guardian of the great Christian family to provide for the peace of his children;⁶ for, however unworthy, he occupies the place "of the supreme Mediator" on earth,⁷ and he will not only take his seat in judging with the princes of the land, but, if need be, will also judge those princes themselves.⁸

There was, moreover, every need that Innocent should exert himself to reform the world. All the world looked to the Pope; and if he slumbered, everything slept the deadly sleep of sin. If the Pope is not vigilant, continues a contemporary Roman or Italian poet, the divine law perishes, and the whole machine of the world is thrown out of gear. But whilst he watches, all is alive.

¹ *Reg. I.*, 31.

² i. 6.

³ i. 202.

⁴ *Reg. I.*, 46. "Nos . . . quibus est fidelium Christi sollicitudo commissæ."

⁵ *Ib.*, 180, "Scientes opera justitiæ pacem esse, justitiæ non defuimus."

⁶ *Ib.*, 181. *Cf.* i. 130. "Apostolatus officio cunctorum teneamur providere quieti et pacem inter singulos exoptare."

⁷ "Nos, qui summi Mediatoris, licet indigni, locum obtinemus in terris." *Reg. I.*, 175. *Cf.* i. 355. "Nos, qui vices Christi, licet insufficientes, exercemus in terram . . . veræ pacis concordiam intendere volumus."

⁸ i. 171. "Ut non solum cum principibus, sed de principibus etiam judicemus."

The law of God is vigorous, and world's machinery all runs true.¹

In the assertion of his position, Innocent also made use of language which was still stronger though it was not new. It had been employed by Gregory VII.² “Just as God,” he wrote, “has set two great lights in the firmament of heaven, a greater light to rule the day and a lesser light to rule the night, so in the firmament of the Universal Church has He set two great dignities, the greater to rule the day, *i.e.*, the souls of men, the lesser to rule the night, *i.e.*, their bodies. These two dignities are the pontifical authority and the regal power. Moreover, as the moon derives its light from the sun, and is in fact less than the sun in every way,³ so the regal power derives the splendour of its dignity from the pontifical authority, and the more exactly it remains in its orbit, with the more lustre will it shine. . . . Both powers have their seat in Italy, which by divine dispensation has the chief power in the world, . . . in which is the foundation of the Christian religion, and in which, through the primacy of the Apostolic See, there is specially manifest the supreme power of Church and State.”⁴

Innocent
on the
Pope's
position.

¹ *Carmen de Ottonis IV. destitutione*, ap. *SS. Rer. Brunsvic.*, ii. p. 525.

“Et genus humanum, te disponente, movetur,
Adque tuos nutus vel nutant omnia, vel stant.
Nam te sopito, vitii sopor omnia sopit.

Lex divina perit, et machina tota vacillat.
Rursum dum vigilas, vigilant simul omnia tecum.

Lex divina viget, et machina tota resurgit.”

² *Reg.*, vii. 25, ed. Jaffé.

³ “Quantitate simul et qualitate, situ pariter et effectū.” i. 401.

⁴ *Ep.* i. 401. “In qua (Italy) Christianæ religionis fundamentum existit et per apostolicæ sedis primatum sacerdotii simul et regni præeminet principatus.” Innocent wished to “consolidate Christendom by means of the Papacy.” Hill, *A Hist. of European Diplomacy*, i. p. 314.

But though Innocent was pleased to describe the Church as a more noble constellation than the State, he did not mean to imply that the State had not its proper functions in the exercise of which the Church had no right of direct interference. He knew that the moon was the independent mistress of the realms of night. And, as there will be occasion to point out more at length when speaking of his relations with the Empire, Innocent uses many other images which show that he held the doctrine of his predecessors. The machinery of the world was not kept in motion by one power on which lesser powers were dependent, but by two powers. There were two cherubim over the ark; there were two splendid columns by the door of the temple, and there were two swords.¹

We have, therefore, right to conclude with a modern author that it is only imperfect acquaintance with the state of Europe in his age that could excuse the oft-repeated assertion that Innocent exercised a usurped and unjust dominion over it. "Where Innocent had political rights," says the writer we are quoting, "he acted like any feudal lord; where he had ecclesiastical rights he acted according to canon law, and the practice of the papal chancery. . . . And all the canons directly or by logical inference depend upon the Bible; and we shall not understand ecclesiastical pretensions, whether in law or diplomacy, unless we regard them, as the great churchmen did, as corollaries from the very words of God."²

¹ *Reg. I.*, 2. Cf. *iii.* 3 to Emeric of Hungary: "Materialis usum gladii . . . a Domino acceperis." Innocent's view was that of his contemporaries. Our countryman, Gervase of Tilbury, "by your will" (so he said to the Emperor Otho IV.) "marshal of the kingdom of Arles," thus addressed his master, to whom he dedicated his *Otia imperialia*: "Duo sunt, imperator, quibus hic mundus regitur, sacerdotium et regnum. . . . Uterque divine legis executor." *Ap. M. G. SS.*, xxvii. p. 363.

² Sedgwick, *Italy in the Thirteenth Century*, i. pp. 48-50. "It was no part of the papal theory, as held by Innocent III., to regard the

A man then who, regarding himself and seeing himself acknowledged as the father of the great Christian family, as the apex of the feudal government of Europe, and as the rock of the Christian faith, had the thought of reforming and elevating all things in Christ; a man who was believed by his contemporaries to be far-seeing and courageous enough¹ to effect the end he had in view,—such a man could not be narrow.

Innocent's
breadth of
view.

Nothing so well establishes his breadth of view as the answers he gave to the questions on points of morality which were sent for his solution from every country in Europe. These replies reveal a mind of very different calibre to those of most of his interrogators. They permit us to see on the one hand men likely to mutilate justice from inability to distinguish between the leading fact in a case and its unimportant accessories, and on the other a clear understanding brushing aside irrelevant detail, bringing out the real point of the case into distinct

Pope as a universal temporal monarch, or Rome as a centre of domination in all particulars. . . . It was supremacy in the realm of religion and morality that Innocent III. had in mind when he proclaimed the superiority of the papal to the royal or the imperial authority. . . . His motive was not, therefore, to merge the spiritual authority in the civil, nor the civil in the spiritual, but to subordinate the one to the other in such a manner as to guarantee the peace of the Church and the security of its head." Hill, *A Hist. of European Diplomacy*, i. p. 318.

¹ "Ipse, quod futurorum esse præagiens," etc. *Gesta*, c. 83. "Ipse, vero, placido vultu procedebat intrepidus, nullum pavoris aut commotionis signum ostendens, quia conscientiam habebat signum ostendens." *Ib.*, c. 137. "Vir clari ingenii, magne probitatis et sapientie, cui nullus secundus tempore suo; fecit enim mirabilia in vita sua." Will. the Breton, *Gesta Philip.*, *Cont. Paris.*, p. 321, ed. Delaborde. "Vir strenus et litteratus et qui in multis causis honori et utilitate ecclesie cognoscitur profuisse." *Chron. Montis Sereni*, an. 1216 (Lauterberg, now Petersberg, near Halle), a valuable monastic chronicle, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxiii. p. 187. "Juvenis quidem etate, sed sensu et scientia et in apostolici juris reformatione super omnes antecessores strenuus et maturus." *Gesta ep̃p. Halberstad.* (780-1208), an. 1198, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxiii. p. 111. Cf. *Reineri Ann.*, 1216, ap. *ib.*, vol. xvi. p. 675.

view, and giving to it a solution at once lucid and just, and expressed in moderate language.¹ Especially does his moderation stand out in his treatment of the matrimonial problems which were brought to his notice. He would not, for instance, allow marriage contracts which had been made against the law, but in good faith, to be broken without very grave reason ;² and he even permitted converted Moslems to keep the wives they had legitimately married in accordance with their law before their conversion.³ At the same time his decisions were not arbitrary, but, wherever possible, were based on the decrees of his predecessors.

These points cannot be further elaborated here, but we would refer those interested in them to Luchaire, who gives in some detail a number of trials conducted by Innocent and his Curia which display the good and bad sides of Roman legal procedure, and who also gives a number of Innocent's decisions which show his sound common sense.⁴ We may, however, usefully close our notice of Innocent's character as a judge in the words regarding him with which the author just cited concludes

¹ Luchaire, i. p. 245, speaks of Innocent's "équité et modération habituelles."

² v. 52. "Contra conjugium quod tanto tempore jam duravit, . . . actio non facile consuevit admitti."

³ He appealed to the example of the patriarchs, and declared "per sacramentum baptismi non solvantur conjugia, sed crimina dimittantur." Decree ap. *P. L.*, t. 216, p. 1270.

⁴ i. pp. 217-253. To such as purpose to read these pages we would observe that it should be borne in mind that it is not a remarkable fact that the Roman Curia took a long time to settle certain cases. The history of judicial procedure everywhere proves that interested parties, provided with brains and money, can always contrive to clog the legal wheels, and that no regulations can prevent men who have money and are anxious to win a case from lavishing it on able advocates or from expending it in many ways which may promote their cause, but which cannot easily be brought under any laws against bribery and corruption.

his first volume: "In the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the Middle Ages it is often necessary to mount to the summit in order to find that superior wisdom which knows how to oppose the spirit to the letter, to take practical necessities into account, and in the proper way to relax the severity of principles. How often do we see the Popes repressing the excessive zeal of their agents, disavowing sectaries and fanatics, and giving to legates and bishops alike lessons of moderation and justice. This instinct of the opportune and the possible has put them in the first rank of statesmen in an epoch which counted but few of them. And it is precisely, as we have seen, this spirit of tolerance and equity which characterises the decisions of Innocent III. In the normal and daily exercise of his judicial capacity, he exhibited sound sense and broad views; and he must be congratulated on having formulated a maxim which certain modern reformers of justice would do well to take as a device: Mercy is above justice. 'Misericordia superexaltatur iudicio.'"

Although well-nigh crushed beneath the work thrust upon him both by his office and by "the malice of the times,"¹ still, trusting in God² and in the prayers of good men which he ever sought with great earnestness,³ Innocent not only contrived for many years to keep abreast of his duties, but even to snatch a few brief hours for literary work. As he professed that he was

Innocent's
writings as
Pope.

¹ Cf. the beginning of the introduction to his *Comment. in sept. psalm. pœnit.*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 217, p. 967. "Ne inter occupationes multiplices et sollicitudines vehementes, quas non solum ex cura regiminis, verum etiam ex malitia temporis patior ultra vires, quasi totus absorbear a profundo, libenter aliquas horulas mihi furor," etc. Cf. his letter dedicating his sermons to the Cistercian abbot Arnulf. "Contemplari quidem non sinor, sed nec respirare permittor"; ap. *ib.*, p. 311.

² Ep. i. 11.

³ Cf. the close of the dedicatory letter just cited; i. 176, 358, 436, xi. 124.

anxious ever to give the preference, when possible, to spiritual concerns,¹ no one would expect to find any profane work labelled as his. Nor indeed will he. Passing over his letters, in many respects the most magnificent literary monument of his age, because it is to be hoped they will speak for themselves in these pages, we will briefly mention in the first place his sermons, which he addressed to the clergy and people "now in the language of literature, and now in that of the populace,"² but which he dictated seemingly only in the former style. He preached them lest the pressure of temporal affairs should cause him to neglect the affairs of the soul altogether, and he published them at the request of a Cistercian abbot. Some eighty in number, they may be praised for their high moral tone, for their good and clear Latin, for the knowledge of the Sacred Scriptures therein displayed, and, some of them at least, for their inspiring notes.³

The gossip Salimbene tells us that Innocent sometimes preached with an open book in front of him, and, on being asked by his chaplain why he did this, seeing that he was so learned, he replied: "I do it for your sakes, seeing that you are so ignorant, and yet are ashamed to learn."⁴

Possibly in the year 1203, after he had been very ill at Anagni,⁵ he may have written his *Commentary on the Seven Penitential Psalms of David* to lessen the tedium

¹ *Reg. I.*, 16, and the above dedic. letter.

² "Quosdam sermones . . . nunc litterali, nunc vulgari lingua propositi et dictavi." The dedic. letter.

³ Some of these sermons are of considerable interest from an archaeological point of view, as the one on "The Golden Rose," ap. *P. L.*, t. 217, p. 393, and others from a politico-religious standpoint, e.g., those on the power of Peter (*ib.*, p. 547 ff., and p. 653 ff.), and of Rome (p. 556 ff., and p. 660 ff.), and the one on the point: "Quod Sacerdotium præcessit regnum," p. 481 ff.

⁴ *Chron.*, p. 31.

⁵ *Gesta*, c. 137.

of convalescence.¹ Like the rest of his writings, it evinces in its author a deep knowledge of the text of holy writ, a love of symbolism, and no little personal holiness. He dilates at some length on prayer and sacramental confession, and concludes by begging his reader to attribute any good in his book to divine grace, and any imperfection in it to his want of ability, and not to forget to pray for its author.²

Innocent was also the author of a few other little treatises, some of which (e.g., *A Dialogue between God and the Sinner*) will be found in Migne's edition of his works, while others seem only to be known by name.³ His *Decretals* show that he was not only learned in the law, but that he was also a lawgiver.⁴ He is further credited with having reformed the liturgy,⁵ and with being the author of the rule of the great hospital of S. Maria in Saxia which he himself founded.⁶

But even Innocent, with his gigantic appetite for work, this Pope, "most holy, and most powerful, the hammer of the guilty and the consoler of the innocent,"⁷ the man who, though he liked not the heat,⁸ often deprived him-

Innocent
unbends at
times.

¹ At any rate, this work was written whilst he was Pope. "Post pontificatum autem, libros Sermonum, et Postillam super septem Psalmos, Epistolarum, Regestorum et Decretalium, quæ manifeste declarant quantum fuerit in humano quam in divino jure peritus." *Gesta*, c. 2.

² Ap. *P. L.*, t. 217, p. 1130.

³ Ceillier, *Hist. des auteurs ecclés.*, xiv. p. 1017.

⁴

"Nam tu,

Qui Decretorum non solum doctus es, immo
Auctor ; non solum leges non destruis, immo
Auges," etc.

Carmen de Otto. IV. destit., ap. *SS. Rer. Brunsvic.*, ii. p. 525.

⁵ Salimbene, *Chron.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxxii. p. 31, says : "he corrected and reformed the church services, adding of his own, and taking away much."

⁶ *Regula ordinis S. Spir. in Sax.*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 217, p. 1129 ff.

⁷ Peter of Blois, ep. 151, ap. *P. L.*, t. 207, p. 443.

⁸ *Chron. Andren.*, 1207, n. 156, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxiv. p. 737.

self of his summer visit to the hill country that he might work in stifling Rome, the man who made the Papacy the centre of European policy,¹—even such a man could not work and be serious always.

Not far to the south of the Lateran palace, in the midst of a pleasant meadow, was the Fons Virginum. This fountain, beautifully constructed of Parian marble, poured forth an abundant supply of clear cool water, which in a sparkling stream went brightly dancing away through the flowery field. To this sweet spot Innocent was in the habit of repairing, and when the tolling of the palace bell and the sound of prancing palfreys proclaimed that he had gone thither, there followed him on one occasion the lively Welshman whose name has often figured in these pages, Giraldus Cambrensis. When the Pope had taken his seat by the refreshing waters with a few chosen companions in a secluded spot, he summoned Giraldus to take a seat by him, and after a little serious conversation in which he assured him that the equity of the Roman Curia, which was guided not by personal considerations but by the justice of the case, would in the end shine forth clearly, he begged Giraldus to give him some instances of the bad grammar and theology of the illiterate archbishop of Canterbury, Hubert Walter.²

¹ Brewer in his preface to his ed. of Giraldus Cambrensis, i. p. lxviii: "The transcendent genius of Innocent III. is conspicuous not only in the changes which he wrought in the whole system of European politics, but still more in his successful mastery of all opposition from contemporary sovereigns. . . . At his death he left the Papacy the sole acknowledged centre towards which all states gravitated as the law of their existence; and what perhaps was more difficult to achieve, he rooted this conviction for centuries in the hearts of men, however opposite their moral or intellectual characters." Cf. Hill, *A Hist. of European Diplom.*, i. 314; but it would appear that the learned author has somewhat exaggerated Innocent's idea of his position.

² Giraldus, *De jure et statu Menevensis eccles.*, dist. iv., ap. vol. iii. p. 252 ff., R.S. Giraldus gives some of these stories against the arch-

We may suppose that it was here too that Scatutius, a wit from the March of Ancona, once offered "Pope Innocent, the teacher of all nations," this salutation in rhyming couplets and in bad grammar :

"Papa Innocentium,
 Doctoris omnis gentium,
 Salutat te Scatutius
 Et habet te pro dominus."

When asked by the Pope whence he came, the wit replied in the same style that he was a native of Recanato :

"De castro Recanato
 Et ibi fui nato."

Whereupon, to match his humour, Innocent replied in the same vein that he had better come to Rome, where he would fare well :

"Si veneris Romam,
 Habebis multam bonam."¹

And thus amusing himself with the Welshman's mimicry or the rhymes of Scatutius, Innocent pleasantly passed a few light moments. For this man, who got through so much work that two or three generations

bishop in his *De invect.*, i. cc. 1, 5, iii. p. 29 ; cf. *Gemma Eccles.*, dist. ii. c. 36. Salimbene also says of Innocent : "Homo fuit qui interponebat suis interdum gaudia curis." *Chron.*, an. 1216, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxxii. p. 31. Cf. *Ann. Ceccan.* (*Chron. Fos. Nov.*), an. 1206, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vii. p. 887 : "Post nonam usque in hora cœnæ cum suis militibus d. Joannes de Ceccano in præsencia d. Papæ jocavit buburbando." Innocent himself, *Serm.* vi., ap. *P. L.*, t. 217, p. 337 ff., explains the need of joyousness from time to time. It may be noted here that, though Giraldus did not obtain all he wanted from Pope Innocent, he nevertheless praised him highly :

"Urbis et orbis apex animarum rector habenas
 Hujus, et hujus habens, rex in utroque potens.

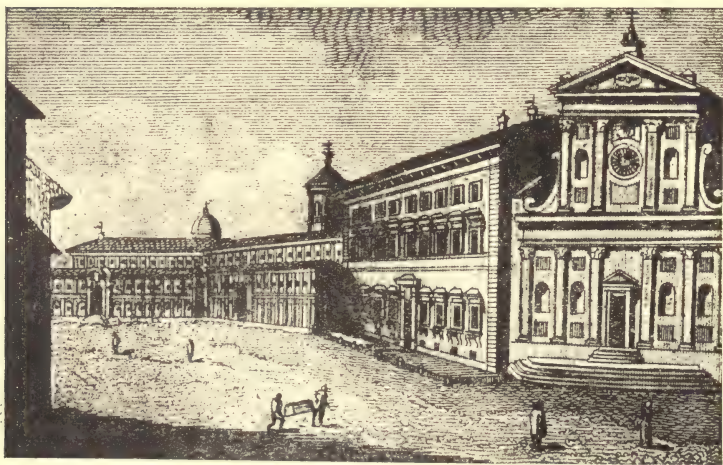
Concutitur (the barque of Peter) sed non quatitur rectore sub ipso ;
 Navigat in portu ; navita Christus adest." *De invect.*, i. 9.

¹ Salimbene, *Chron.*, p. 32.

later an historian declared that, had he lived ten years longer he would have subdued the earth and brought it to the "one Faith,"¹—this man who was above all things anxious to be genuine and thoroughly consistent in word and deed,² this man knew well that "desipere in loco," occasionally to play the fool wisely, was a help to labour, and anything but injurious to character.

¹ Cf. the anonymous author of the *Memoirs of the Podestà of (Tuscan) Reggio (Memoriale Potestatum Regiensium, 1154-1290)*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, viii. 1078: "Iste fuit potens in opere et sermone, in tantum ut si viveret magis per decennium, totum mundum subjugasset, et tota fieret una Fides." This had been already said by the Spanish jurist, John de Deo, who wrote a very poor chronicle in the days of Gregory IX. (+1241), ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxxi. p. 324.

² *Serm. xxi., Dom. II. post. Pasch.*, p. 405. "Væ mihi est si forte sim nomine pastor, et opere mercenarius; si meritum discrepat ab officio, si vita discordat a lingua."



The Church and Hospital of S. Spirito in Sassia at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER II.

THE CITY OF ROME.

WHEN Lothaire or Lothario Conti was first reckoned among the successors of St. Peter, Rome was, as usual at this period, in a most unsatisfactory condition. It was a city which law and order had abandoned,¹ and in which anarchy had found congenial quarters. The authority of the Pope, if of some weight in the Leonine city and in the Trastevere, did not count for much in the city proper, and the voice of the Senate or of the single senator, as the case might be, if listened to in the immediate neighbourhood of the Capitol, was not much heeded anywhere else. Paupers, mechanics, and tradesmen grouped in guilds, usurious bankers who traded on the necessities of litigants and pilgrims, and turbulent nobles made up the bulk of its population. All of them, after the manner of dependants in the Middle Ages, looked to the Pope for largess, and were divided into fierce factions. Inflated with memories of the past, they dreamed and babbled of universal dominion, when they had neither power nor sagacity enough to subdue their immediate neighbours nor to rule themselves. Their poorer classes either could not or would not do anything but beg, and their upper classes would do nothing but fight among themselves. Long ago had they turned the city into a nest of fortresses, making strongholds of the great ruins of ancient Rome, of the mausoleum of Augustus, of the great arches in

Rome and
its people.

¹ "Populus Romanus, totius bonitatis inimicus," says our historian, Roger of Wendover, *Flor. hist.*, an. 1227, iii. p. 152, ed. Coxe.

and near the Forum, of the theatre of Marcellus, of the Colosseum, and of the Septizonium. And now, for purposes of attack and defence, they were studding it with lofty towers, so that to one who gazed upon it across the Campagna, it will have presented the same appearance, though on a very much larger scale, as does to-day the turreted town of San Giminiano to one who looks upon it across the Tuscan hills.

To introduce the reign of law and order among the turbulent Romans¹ by making them submissive to his rule was the first aim of Innocent; and, although he began his task as soon as ever he was consecrated, it took him no less than ten years (1198-1208) to accomplish it. For he cannot be accounted Rome's unquestioned sovereign till the day in November 1208 when all classes of its community begged him to return from Ferentino and rule over them. Meanwhile, the witty Welshman, Gerald Barry, was having his fun out of the situation, and pointing out in verse how strange it was that the Pope's censure which in Rome could not move trifles, was elsewhere making the sceptres of kings tremble; and that he to whom in Rome a poorly kept garden would not yield, was striving to bend kingdoms to his nod.²

On his accession the restored Senate, which had never been much more than a little shadow of a great name, was represented by a single senator, Scottus Paparone, who had taken part in the ceremonies of the new Pope's investiture. One of Innocent's first acts was to depose the senator; and then, content with this manifestation of sovereign power, he did not himself name a new one but nominated a third party (a *medianus*) to perform that

¹ Even the Roman students at the University of Paris were set down as "seditious, turbulent, and slanderous." Jacques de Vitry (†1240), *Hist. orient.*, ii. c. 7. Cf. Gregory IX., *Regest.*, n. 2435, ed. Auvray.

² *Opera*, i. pp. 374 and 377, R.S.

function for him.¹ He next turned his attention to the prefect, who had become an imperial instead of a papal official,² and, as we have seen, on the day after his consecration made Peter of Vico take the oath of fealty to him.³ Civil and criminal power in the city were once more in papal hands, and for the nonce there was peace.

But the tranquillity was not of long duration. Two men, John Capocci and John Pierleone Rainerii, who had in turn held the office of sole senator, whether from disinterested zeal for the commune which they had represented, or because they hoped, by creating discord between the people and the Pope, thus to be able to fish in troubled waters and to wring more money from the Pope,⁴ at any rate, began to stir up the people. They pointed out to them that, by taking away from them control over the Sabina and the Maritima, the Pope had stripped them of their rights as a hawk does a bird of its feathers, that he had got control over the Senate, and caused the election of successive senators who were favourable to himself, and opposed to the people.

According to Innocent's biographer, these specious arguments were not accepted by the people, and failed to draw money from the Pope. Chance, however, came to the aid of the demagogues. The then strong and powerful city of Viterbo, a commune which owned the suzerainty of the Pope, possessed with the same passion for sub-

War
between
Viterbo
and Viter-
clano, 1199
-1200.

¹ *Gesta*, c. 8. "Electoque per medianum suum alio senatore . . . patrimonium recuperavit."

² "Qui usque ad id tempus juramento fidelitatis imperatori fuerat obligatus et ab eo præfecturæ tenebat honorem." *Ib.*

³ *Cf. supra*, p. 47.

⁴ The latter is the motive given by the author of the *Gesta*, c. 133. "Quidam qui ex discordia quam seminare solebant inter summum pontificem et Romanum populum, suos questus augebant . . . cœperunt aquam turbare, ut in ea melius piscarentur."

jugating its less powerful neighbours that at this period animated all the larger communes, laid siege to Viterclano (Vitorchiano),¹ some five miles away, on a steep hill near Montefiascone. In their distress the people of Vitorchiano begged the aid of the Pope and the Romans.² The Romans, who had desired to subject Vitorchiano themselves,³ and who on the other hand wished to take vengeance on Viterbo because its people had sided with Barbarossa and had carried off the bronze gates of St. Peter's, received the request with pleasure. The civic adversaries of Innocent were especially delighted. If he refused the help, his influence in Rome would be ruined; if he granted it, he would lose the allegiance of Viterbo.⁴

The affair was complicated by an appeal for help by Viterbo to the Tuscan League, which was promptly accorded. Innocent made every effort to avert hostilities. He reminded the *rectors* of the League that it had been called into being for the advantage of the Church, and persuaded them to withdraw their troops.⁵ But, though he sent embassy after embassy to Viterbo, he could not induce its people to suspend hostilities against Vitorchiano. He accordingly declared them excommunicated, and commanded all his subjects to help the Romans against them.⁶

In the desultory campaign which ensued the Romans

¹ Cf. *Il Castello di Vitorchiano, antico feudo del Senato Romano*, by V. E. Aleandri, Foligno, 1911. Hence "the privilege of supplying the nine valets of the Roman senator called 'fedeli del Campidoglio' belongs to Vitorchiano." Miley, *Hist. of the Papal States*, i. 61.

² Ep. ii. 207 (November 1199). "Querelas hominum de Biturclano ad nos clamantium ab oppressionibus vestris et ad fidelitatem nostram redire volentium non curavimus exaudire." Cf. *Gesta*, c. 133. The letter is addressed to the Podestà and to the consuls of Viterbo.

³ Lanzillotto (Anzilotti) in *Le croniche di Viterbo*, an. 1200, ed. Egidi, p. 231. "Li Romani volivano Vitorchiano, et li Viterbesi li contradicevano."

⁴ *Gesta*, c. 133.

⁵ *Ib.*

⁶ *Ib.*, and ep. cit.

were at length successful, as the money which the senator received from Innocent's brother Richard enabled them to hire mercenaries as the people of Viterbo had done. On January 6, 1200, they completely defeated their enemy, killing and capturing many of them.¹ Some of their prisoners they treated very badly, incarcerating distinguished men in the pestiferous dungeon known as the Canaparia.²

Realising how conduct of this sort would militate against his efforts for peace, Innocent contrived to get them removed first to the Lateran, and then for greater safety to the stronghold of Lariano near Velletri.³ The escape of one of the principal prisoners from this fortress was assigned by the Roman malcontents to the connivance of the Pope, and materially increased his difficulty in bringing about a settlement.⁴ At length, however, he triumphed over all obstacles, and brought about a peace which won for him the thanks of the great mass of the Romans,⁵ and did not alienate from him the loyalty of the people of Viterbo. By the terms of the peace the Romans liberated their prisoners, while their opponents had to abandon Vitorchiano, to demolish a fortified place

Innocent at length makes peace between Viterbo and Rome, 1202.

¹ *Gesta*, c. 134. Cf. Sicard of Cremona, *Chron.*, 1200, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxxi. p. 176.

² *Gesta*, *ib.* Cf. ep. v. 138, January 10, 1203. It appears that the Canaparia was the Basilica Julia, which to one looking down on the Forum from the Capitol was on its left opposite to the column of Phocas. The remains of the basilica were in a garden belonging to the hospital of S. Maria delle Grazie, and were long used as a quarry. Cf. a grant in 1426 to certain Roman lime-makers of the region Pinea of "ex fundamentis templi Canapare lapides tiburtinos" for the making of lime; ap. Müntz, *Les antiquités de Rome*, p. 37 (1886). Cf. Nichols' English ed. of the *Mirabilia*, pp. 32, 96.

³ *Ib.*

⁴ *Gesta*, 135, and ep. cit.

⁵ The thanks which the Pope received from the Romans at different times during this affair are noted in the *Gesta*, cc. 133-4. In v. 138 Innocent speaks of the "forma compositionis quam firmavimus inter Romanos et Viterbienses."

in front of their city, to take an oath of fealty to the Romans (saving in all things the fidelity they owed to the Pope), and to restore the bronze gates of St. Peter's which they had carried off in the days of the Emperor Frederick I. (1167).¹

The Orsini
and the
Scotti.

Some of the Romans, however, affected not to be satisfied with the peace. The Orsini, nephews of Celestine III., "who had been enriched with the property of the Roman Church,"² and who were at enmity with the Scotti, Innocent's maternal relations, were especially loud in declaring that he had made the peace simply in his own interests. They further showed their hostility to the Pope by taking advantage of his absence at Velletri during the months of September and October of the year 1202 to fall upon the Scotti and drive them and their wives from their homes. Innocent promptly returned to Rome, and exacted an oath from the Orsini that they would be obedient in future, and keep the peace.³

But the senator, Pandulf of the Suburra, who was a devoted adherent of the Pope, and did not think these measures sufficiently drastic, forced the contending parties to surrender their towers into his hands, and to dwell outside the city—the Orsini by St. Peter's and the Scotti by St. Paul's. He then proceeded to demolish one of the Orsini towers as a punishment for their outrage.

Not content with this advantage which they had gained, the Scotti brought fresh trouble upon themselves. A certain Theobald, who was a cousin "of the sons of Ursus," and yet a son-in-law of Romanus de Scotta, was in the habit of going over to St. Paul's to meet his father-in-law. The Scotti, however, regarding him as the cause

¹ *Gesta*, c. 135 ; Lanzillotto, ann. 1200-1. See also other documents in Luchaire, *Inn. III. et le peuple romain*, p. 239 f., ap. *Revue Hist.*, 1903 (or in Gregorovius, *Rome*, v. pt. i. p. 37).

² *Gesta*, *ib.*

³ *Ib.*

of their trouble, assassinated him on the occasion of one of these visits.¹

Wild with rage, the Orsini rushed into the city, roused the just indignation of the people, seized the towers of their enemies which were in the hands of the senator, levelled them and their adjoining houses with the ground, and were with difficulty prevented from carrying the dead body of their kinsman before the palaces of Richard and of his brother the Pope.²

Then, taking up the ideas of the vendetta, they included the Pope in their hatred of his relations, and sought every means of injuring him "at least in his relations and friends."³ They had not long to wait before they were able to gratify their hatred. They took up the cause of the Poli, and helped them to drive Innocent from the city. The Poli,
1203.

A certain Odo de Polo, an extravagant son of extravagant ancestors, inherited heavily encumbered estates which were held of the Roman Church. With a view to improving his financial position, he endeavoured to bring about a marriage between his daughter and the son of the Pope's brother Richard.⁴ His proposals were entertained, and as a result of the negotiations regarding the lady's dowry, Odo saw his ancestral estates cleared of debt. He thereupon wished to withdraw from his engagements, and accused Richard of sharp practice. But, though

¹ *Gesta*, c. 137.

² *Ib.*

³ *Ib.* "Machinantes qualiter possent d. Papam offendere, saltem in suis consanguineis et amicis."

⁴ The author of the *Gesta*, apparently following an extant letter of Innocent to his brother Richard (vii. 133), has got very confused in his attempt to insert portions of this letter into his text. We naturally accept the statements in Innocent's letter. There it is said that Odo wished to effect the marriage as stated in the text "inter filium tuum (*i.e.*, of Richard, to whom the letter is addressed) et filiam suam," whereas the *Gesta*, c. 137, says that the parties were Odo's son and "the niece of the lord Pope, the daughter of Richard."

the latter expressed his willingness to have the affair examined before any tribunal, and Innocent himself had even offered to advance his adversary the money necessary to have the case tried, Odo refused to appear before any recognised judge. Instead, he endeavoured to excite public opinion against not only Richard but the Pope also. He and his brothers used to rush into the churches half naked with crosses in their hands, proclaiming aloud how they had been robbed by the Pope and his brother. On Easter Monday, when Innocent was saying Mass in St. Peter's, they managed to raise a disturbance in the basilica, and when, after Mass, he was returning to the Lateran in solemn procession, as was customary on that day, he was grievously outraged.¹

Their next move was to pretend to make over to the Roman people their fief which belonged to the Pope. But Innocent, through some of his cardinals, proved his right to the lands before the people, and ordered his brother to take forcible possession of them. Foiled again, the Poli, with the help of the Orsini and other enemies of the Pope, worked up the people by lies (*falsis commentis*) against his brother, and attacked his tower.² Richard himself managed to escape, but his tower fell into the hands of his enemies.

It was, *perhaps*, on account of this very tower that the Poli and the Orsini managed to raise the people against Richard. Later writers³ assert that in this year (1203)

¹ "Cum de more coronati reverteremur per urbem, quot et quantas sustinuerimus insidias et injurias referre nos pudet." vii. 133.

² Here again the *Gesta* has gone astray, for it attributes to the "senator's tower" (*i.e.*, the palatium Capitolii) and to the senator what happened to Richard and his tower. No doubt both the Capitol and Richard's tower were besieged; and if in line 25, p. clxxxvii, of the *Gesta* we read "Richardum" for "Senatorem," the *Gesta* can be reconciled with the Pope's letter.

³ The earliest testimony on this matter seems to be a marginal note to the *Chronica maj.*, an. 1215, of Matthew Paris, ii. p. 630 n., R.S.

Innocent, with the monies of the Church, built or completed for his brother the highest tower in the city of Rome, and that, when upbraided for such a use of ecclesiastical revenues, he founded the hospital of S. Spirito in Sassia in expiation of his misdeed.

Whenever and by whatever funds built, the Torre dei Conti still stands at the corner of the Via Cavour, but not as it did when Petrarch could speak of it as unique in the world.¹ It now boasts only a third of its original height, and is divided into a number of poor shops. Its battlemented summit was destroyed by the terrible earthquake of 1348, and for safety's sake the tower had to be reduced to its present height by Urban VIII. and Alexander VII. (1655).

Whether Innocent built the Torre dei Conti or not, or whether its menacing height helped the Poli and the Orsini to rouse the people, certain it is that Innocent found it advisable to bow to the storm which they had

Innocent
leaves
Rome,
May 1203,
and falls ill.

"Quidam qui in eodem concilio (the Lateran) existens de nobili turri quam P. Innocentius construxerat fratri suo comiti Ricardo ex denariis ab ecclesia raptis ait :

'Per vitium Gezabel Romæ stat in arce nova Bel,
Condempnatur Abel (Innocent), fratre (Richard) tenente Babel
(Richard's tower).'"

The said origin of the foundation of the hospital is vouched for by Ricobaldi of Ferrara, *Hist. imp.*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, ix. 126 : "Hic (Inn.) ædificari fecit, *ut aiunt*, turrim mirabilem Romæ . . . sumptibus ecclesiæ. Ob cuius rei satisfactionem construi fecit Hospitale S. Spiritus." Cf. *ib.*, p. 179 ; Ptolemy of Lucca, *H. E.*, xxi. 16, ap. *ib.*, xi. p. 1127. We have to come down to the very end of the fourteenth century before we find any attempt to assign a date to the building of the Torre. The Franciscan Bartholomew della Pugliola in his *Hist. miscel. Bononiensis* (1104-1394) says it was built in 1203, ap. *R. I. SS.*, xviii. 248, and that in his time it was called "Torre del Conte Giovan Paolo."

¹ Writing of the destruction wrought in Rome by the terrible earthquake of 1348, he says (*De reb. fam.*, xi. 7) : "turris illa toto orbe unica, quæ Comitibus dicebatur, ingentibus rimis laxata dissiluit, et nunc, velut trunca capite, superbi verticis honorem solo effusum despicit."

raised. He left the city in May (1203), and the same month saw him in Ferentino, where he left a beautiful memorial of his visit in the shape of a glorious fountain which is still flowing.¹ In September he went to Anagni, and there his health, never very robust, gave way. He became so ill that his death was frequently reported.²

Civic confusion.
Two
senates.

Meanwhile in Rome the time (November) came round for the re-election of the Senate whilst Innocent was still lying ill. His enemies, who, in order to get some power into their hands, had in the interval persuaded the people to have once more fifty-six senators instead of one, procured the selection of twelve *mediani* (intermediaries) by those who were acting for the Pope. Most of these men they contrived to capture, and, confining them in the house of one of their supporters, John de Stacio, situated among the ruins of the Circus Flaminius, near the existing church of S. Catarina dei Funari, they compelled each of them to swear to elect at least two senators hostile to Innocent.³

But the triumph of the opposition was not so near as it imagined. The retiring sole senator Pandulf, whose loyalty to the Pope had been conspicuous, would only admit into the Capitol those of the new senators who were favourable to the Pope. The others made their headquarters in the monastery so called "of the lady Rose" (*Dominæ Rosæ*), which was attached to the church of S. Maria *dominæ Rosæ*⁴ (S. Catarina dei Funari).

Innocent
back in
Rome,
1204.

While these two fragments of municipal authority were quarrelling about their abstract right to the estates

¹ *Gesta*, c. 137, and *Ann. Ceccan.*, an. 1203, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xix.

² *Gesta*, *ib.* In December 1203 Innocent could write of his illness as past, and tell of reports of his death: "Cum nos in lecto ægrotudinis positos visitasset, nos mortuos confingentes," etc., vi. 191.

³ *Gesta*, c. 138.

⁴ As it is called in a Bull of Celestine III. (October 4, 1192), ap. Jaffé, 16,923. *Gesta*, c. 138.

of the Poli, the whole city was given over to lawlessness.¹ Deputation after deputation begged Innocent to return to his convulsed capital. At length, when he had completely recovered from his illness, Innocent yielded to the people's solicitations and returned to Rome, where he was received "with immense honour," March 1204.²

To put an end to the civic trouble, Innocent, in front of the assembled people, boldly named as *medianus* (intermediary) to chose a single senator, one who had even acted against him, John Capocci. This impartial choice met with general approval, and John selected Gregory Pierleone to be sole senator. Unfortunately, Gregory, though well disposed, was weak, and the state of the city went from bad to worse.³

Pretending that the Pope had abused his privileges, the senators in the monastic foundation "of the lady Rose" elected fresh senators, calling themselves "good men of the commune."⁴ And as "everybody did what seemed right in his own eyes," John decided to build a tower by the side of his house. Whereupon the late senator Pandulf and others bade him desist. Seeing that he took not the slightest notice of his behests, Pandulf and his party prepared for a fight. On Easter Sunday, however, Capocci anticipated them, and took the field with loud boastings. There was fighting all over the city, but Capocci's faction were generally worsted. Helped by the money of Richard Conti, Pandulf's party began everywhere to erect towers, of stone if possible, if not of wood, to dig trenches, and to raise mounds. They turned the ruins of the ancient baths into forts, and made castles of the churches.⁵

Fighting went on day and night. Horse and foot en-

¹ "Pax et justitia nunquam inveniebantur in Urbe." *Gesta*, c. 138.

² *Ib.*

³ *Ib.*, c. 139.

⁴ *Ib.*, c. 141.

⁵ "Feceruntque turres ligneas, ubi lapideas non habebant, aggeres et fossata, munientes thermas, incastellantes ecclesias." *Ib.*

countered each other in the streets, and serving men hurled down stones from the lofty towers. Mangonels too and balistas were mounted on the walls of the turrets, and skilled artillerymen hired to work them.

Meanwhile, Capocci continued to make progress with his tower. Pandulf, however, at length erected on an old monument a wooden fort (*fagiolum*) which dominated the rising tower, and his sharpshooters soon rendered work on it impossible. At the same time Peter Anibaldi, the brother-in-law of the Pope, erected a tower to keep in check Capocci's allies, the Frangipani, who, as we know, were all-powerful in the neighbourhood of the Colosseum.

The Pope
makes
peace.

At length, after an interval of success, in which he once more showed that he knew not how to be moderate,¹ Capocci with his party was everywhere defeated,—worsted, as was said, by the Pope's money. Many now advised Innocent to allow his enemies to be entirely crushed.² But, says his biographer, he was unwilling that they should be treated as they deserved, but proposed that for that year, without prejudice to his claims, four respectable citizens (*boni viri*) should be chosen who should decide, in view of the pact of 1188, on the respective rights of the people and the Pope with regard to the Senate. At first Capocci and his party would not listen to this proposal. In the childish bombastic language which the civic magnates of Rome so often used during the Middle Ages, and which still comes readily to their lips: "The city," they said, "has not been accustomed to yield in any dispute into which it has entered against the Church, nor has it been its wont to conquer by forms of law (*justitia*) but by force."³

¹ *Gesta*, c. 140. "Modum autem in prosperitate non servans." Anibaldi saved the situation for Pandulf.

² *Ib.*, c. 141. "Plerique consulerent d. Papæ ut permitteret eos usque ad extremam exinanitionem quassari," etc.

³ *Ib.*

However, a little more of the pressure of war made the truculent John and his party eager to fall in with the Pope's proposal. The four arbitrators were chosen, and they promptly decided that it was the right of the Pope to create the Senate¹ (October 1204). They, however, advised the Pope again to permit fifty-six senators to be elected, as it was impossible to find a single one who would be acceptable to all. Although Innocent felt and said that there would never be order with so many, he accepted their suggestions, and the fifty-six were chosen.²

But it turned out as he had declared that it would turn out. Disorder still continued rife, so that at last, at the request of the people themselves, Innocent named a strong single senator, "who brought back peace and justice into the city" (1205).³ "No one," continues the author of the *Gesta*, "dared to murmur against him, so much was the Pope's authority feared." "The good men of the commune" were practically subdued.

End of the
civic dis-
turbances,
1205, 1208.

In 1208 Innocent once more left the city in consequence of some fresh disturbance.⁴ "The whole Roman nobility" went out to Ferentino to beg him to return, undertaking that the senator, who was in opposition to him, should resign his office, and that he might appoint whomsoever of the nobility he chose to take his place.⁵ The worthy abbot

¹ *Gesta*, *ib.* "Dixerunt quod ad summum pontificem pertinebat creare senatum."

² *Ib.*

³ *Ib.*, c. 142.

⁴ Writing to Otho, "Roman emperor-elect," Innocent says that the seditious were adversaries of Otho, that they had been won over by gold, that they did considerable mischief to his relations, "nosque non sine multis et magnis expensis seditionem populi potuimus mitigare." *Reg. I.*, n. 153. The date of this letter is fixed by the mention of the recent death of Philip, Otho's rival.

⁵ "Senatorem Urbis, qui quasi ipso (Innocent) invito dominium tenuerat, sponte cessurum denuntiat (the nobility)." *Chron. Andren.*, c. 170, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxiv. 743 f.

of Andres, who is our authority for this incident, was astounded at the splendid procession that came out from Rome to meet the Pope on his return. "I saw," he said, "coming out to meet him companies of soldiers and nobles, all clad in purple, in fine linen and in silk, and mounted on splendid horses superbly caparisoned, and Jews and Christians from all the guilds (*ex omnibus collegiis*) of Rome, each *schola* acclaiming him in its own way" (November 1208).¹

Innocent
lord of
Rome.

During all these years whilst Innocent was being buffeted about by the turbulent section of the Roman people, and whilst his own immediate dependants were defiantly building towers before the Lateran itself,² he was being looked up to as the arbiter of the Christian commonwealth and the guide of its destinies. And now at last he was in Rome what he was in Christendom, its apex; now was he free to help it in distress or to urge it along the path of prosperity. We find him, at enormous cost, feeding its people in time of famine,³ extending his protection to the Roman money-lenders or bankers (*mercatores*) who, if generally usurious, were sometimes imposed upon and in need of his assistance,⁴ and, greatest of all his works of charity, founding the hospital of S. Maria or S. Spirito in Saxia.

The hos-
pital of
S. Spirito
in Saxia.

During the latter half of the twelfth century the

¹ *Chron. Andren., l.c.*

² "Duo fratres, habitatores Laterani, contempta prohibitione summi pontificis, ædificaverunt turrin munitam ante Lateranum palatium." *Gesta*, c. 141.

³ *Ib.*, c. 143; Potthast, n. 1489; *Ann. Ceccan.*, 1202. "Hic annus ab omnibus dictus est annus famis." His almsgiving was very great. *Gesta*, c. 143.

⁴ Ep. vii. 15; *Chron. abb. de Evesham*, pp. 198, 225, and 256 f., R.S., where, *e.g.*, the Pope makes the monks of Evesham give up their *privileges* to the Roman money-lenders (*mercatores*) in pledge for the 400 marks which they owed them. On p. 256 the monks pay, and recover their *privileges*.

number of pilgrims to Rome, especially of English pilgrims, fell off very considerably. To this had contributed the turmoil in which the city had been kept by those who wished to turn Rome into a free commune; the prohibitions against pilgrimages to Rome occasionally issued by the Popes themselves to punish the rebellious city; and the attempts made from time to time by the emperors and the kings of England to interrupt communication with Rome.

One result of these causes was the dissolution of the *Schola Anglorum*.¹

To the remnant of its revenues Innocent added money which he collected from various parts of the world, even from our King John,² and contributed from his own resources, and founded a great hospital on the site of the *Schola Anglorum*.³ He established it on the model of one which had been established in Montpellier "by our beloved son Brother Guido," where, says the Pope,⁴ "the hungry are fed, the poor are clothed, and the sick are supplied with all necessities, and where those receive the greatest help who are in the greatest need."

We have seen that certain late authors have set forth that Innocent founded his hospital of the Holy Ghost out of remorse for building Richard Conti's tower with Church money. But for this there is no contemporary evidence.

¹ Cf. epp. ap. *Materials for the Hist. of Arch. T. Becket*, v. pp. 64, 241, R.S. Of the descendants of the *Schola Anglorum* we hope to speak under Innocent VI.

² Cf. a charter of John granting the hospital 100 marks yearly. This charter is inserted in a bull of Honorius III. to the brethren of the hospital, January 3, 1218, ep. ii. 98.

³ "Fecit ex propriis sumptibus ad opus infirmorum et pauperum hospitale S. Spiritus apud S. Mariam in Saxia." *Gesta*, c. 144. The Icelandic abbot Arngrim, in *vit. Gudmund.*, c. 23, notes that Innocent was able to give large sums of his own to the hospital: "nam vir potens fuit ante papatum." *Ap. M. G. SS.*, xix. p. 415.

⁴ i. 95; cf. 97.

Such a motive is unknown to the author of the *Gesta*, and is not mentioned by Innocent in any of the numerous letters in which he refers to the hospital of S. Maria or S. Spirito in Saxia. The tradition of the place itself has another story to tell of its origin. At the close of the sixteenth century Rome was visited by a certain Arnold von Buchell of Utrecht. His *Iter Italicum* is still extant.¹ When in Rome he saw "the most famous and rich hospital" of S. Spirito; and in the portico of that part of the hospital where foundlings were deposited he saw a fresco depicting fishermen taking to the Pope in their nets the bodies of infants they had fished out of the water. This, says von Buchell,² is regarded "as the origin of a foundation where provision is made for infants exposed by night, so that they might not be killed by the inhuman cruelty of pitiless mothers."

The hospital placed under the Brothers of the Holy Ghost.

All during his pontificate Innocent took the greatest interest in this hospital. After a brief space he placed it under the management of a confraternity which had been founded some twenty years before his accession by Guido or Guy of Montpellier in the city of his name for the care of the sick.³ He allowed the brothers to collect for their

¹ It is printed in the *Archivio Rom. di storia pat.*, 1900 f.

² *Ib.*, p. 48. The story of the infants being brought to Innocent in the net is told very dramatically in the introduction to the *Regula ordinis S. Spiritus de Saxia*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 217, p. 1129 f. The story seems to have been first recorded by the priest Jacob Twinger of Königshofen (b. 1346, †1420) in his important old German *Chronik*.

³ *Cf.* epp. vii. 95. "Apud S. Mariam in Saxia . . . , eleemosynis Ecclesiæ Romanæ, venerabile construximus hospitale, in quo . . . recipiantur et reficiantur pauperes et infirmi, et exhibeantur alia opera pietatis; statuentes ut regularis ordo, qui secundum Deum et institutionem fratrum hospitalis S. Spiritus in eodem loco per nos institutus esse dignoscitur . . . observetur." *Cf.* epp. ix. 16; x. 179 and 223; xi. 69, 104, 169, and a very interesting passage in Giraldus Cambrensis, *De invect.*, v. c. 12, Op. i. 138, R.S., who got himself proclaimed "a brother" of the hospital, and shared in the indulgences which Innocent attached to it. *Cf.* Walsh, *The Popes and Science*, p. 10 f., 256.

hospital in Italy, Sicily, England,¹ and Hungary, and was constantly giving them money and presents,² as we have already seen. Then, in order to sustain interest in his favourite foundation, Innocent ordered a solemn *station* to be held at the hospital on the Sunday after the octave of the Epiphany. To ensure a large attendance, the famous relic of the "sudarium Salvatoris" (the veil of Veronica) was brought to the hospital in solemn procession that it might be seen and venerated by the people; and, as further inducements for them to attend, it was arranged that the Pope himself should preach a sermon on the works of mercy, and should grant indulgences to those who should put the said works in practice.³

¹ The recently published *Register* of W. Giffard, archbishop of York, shows the great interest taken in this collection in England in 1266. Cf. pp. 151, 152, ed. Surtees Society, 1904. Cf. ep. Inn., vii. 95, and a letter of King John, ap. Rymer, *Fœdera*, i. 117.

² *Gesta*, cc. 144, 145, 149.

³ *Ib.*, c. 144. What were all the indulgences granted by Innocent in connection with his hospital is not known; but we may be sure they were not those enumerated by the old English author of the *Stacions of Rome* (the Vernon MS., c. 1370):

"At the chirche of seynt spirit,
In the weie (way) to trismere (Trastevere) ful riht,
Vche (each) dai there is eight hundred year to pardoun
And thridde part of thi synnes remissioun."

P. 22, ed. Furnivall, London, 1867.

It is far more likely that any indulgences which he may have granted would have borne some proportion to the one mentioned in the text or to that of Nicholas IV., who in 1291 granted on a few specified days a "relaxation of one year and 40 days to penitents who visit the church of Writtle (Essex) in the diocese of London, belonging to the hospital of the Holy Ghost, Rome." *Calendar of Papal Letters*, i. p. 537. Writtle had been granted as an endowment to the hospital by King John. Speaking of the *Veronica*, Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, D. iii., c. 25, i. p. 968, ed. Leibnitz, *SS. Rer. Bruns.*, says it was a true picture of our Lord, showing His bust, and he avers that he knows that it was like the Holy Face at Lucca; like the picture in the Lateran palace near the oratory of St. Lawrence, which when struck by a Jew gave forth blood; and like one in the oratory itself which Pope

Innocent fulfilled his own regulations; and not only carried "the image of the Lord's countenance" himself, but composed "an elegant prayer" to be used on the occasion, and attached "an indulgence of ten days" to its recital.¹

As Guy's confraternity was known as that of the Holy Ghost (fratres S. Spiritus),² the old name of the church of the *Schola Anglorum*, viz., S. Maria in Saxia, gradually gave place to that of S. Spiritus, and all knowledge of the connection between the hospital and the old *Schola Anglorum* would seem to have been gradually lost. For we find such a well-informed Englishman as John Capgrave, in the year 1450, speaking of "the hospitall of the Holy Goost" without note or comment.³

As time went on "the hospitall of the Holy Goost" increased in importance and usefulness, and, if it cannot now be called the largest hospital in the world, especially since the recent demolition of part of it to afford an approach to a new bridge across the Tiber, it was, even in the days of Hurter, the most magnificent institution of its kind in the world.⁴

"It was understood," writes Doctor Walsh,⁵ "that the ailing picked up in the streets should be brought to the

Alexander III. covered with many folds of silk because to those who gazed intently upon it, it caused a trembling which was dangerous to life. The marshal further informs us that the *Veronica* was kept in St. Peter's near the right-hand entrance gate.

¹ Mat. Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, an. 1216, iii. p. 7, R.S.

² Cf. Hurter, *Tableau des institutions de l'église au Moyen Age*, ii. p. 495 ff.; and *Hist. de l'ordre hospitalier du Saint Esprit*, by P. Brune, Lons-le-Saunier, 1892.

³ Cf. *Ye solace of Pilgrimes*, pp. 17, 61, ed. Mills, Oxford, 1911.

⁴ Hurter, *Hist.*, ii. 678. Cf. Gregorovius, *Rome*, v. pt. ii. p. 635.

⁵ *The Popes and Science*, p. 250. He is relying, no doubt, though he does not say so, on the *Regula ordinis S. Spiritus*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 217. One would like to quote the whole of this regula, so gloriously instinct with the noblest Christian charity and scientific common sense.

hospital, and that all the wounded and injured would be welcomed there. Besides, certain of the attendants of the hospital went out every day to look for any patients who might be neglected or be without sufficient care, especially in the poorer quarters of the city, and these were also transported to the hospital. This old Santo-Spirito hospital then was exactly the model of our modern city hospitals."

"Pope Innocent's idea, however, was not to establish a hospital at Rome alone, but his fatherly solicitude went out to every city in Christendom. . . . By official papal encouragement he succeeded in having during his own pontificate a number of hospitals established in all parts of the then civilised world on the model of this hospital of the Holy Ghost at Rome.¹ The initiative thus given proved lasting, and even after the Pontiff's death hospitals of the Holy Ghost continued to multiply in various parts of Europe, until scarcely a city of any importance was without one."²

But Innocent was not only the father of the people throughout his dominions in that he strove to provide for all their physical wants;³ he was also, for their sakes, a glorious patron of art, in order that they might behold

¹ In support of this statement of the distinguished doctor we will quote epp. xi. 69 and 169.

² "It is no less a person than Virchow, the greatest of modern medical scientists, who has traced the origins of the modern German city hospitals back to Innocent, and gives a list of those which were established during the century following his pontificate." Walsh, *ib.*, p. 251. On the hospital in Rome we would also quote Lallemand, *Hist. de la charité à Rome*, p. 227 ff., Paris, 1878.

³ He always set aside a tenth of all his revenues as alms, but he often gave away large sums from the residue. "Faciebat ergo famelicos refici, nudos vestiri, virgines pauperulas maritari, parvulos expositos nutrire." *Gesta*, c. 143. He was also most generous to poor communities of monks and nuns: "Domos religiosas . . . a debitis liberabat" (*ib.*, cf. c. 149), to poor orphans and widows, and to his domestics and poor relations. *Ib.*, c. 150.

the divine service everywhere celebrated with becoming splendour. The large sums he expended on the repairing and beautifying of churches both in and out of Rome, and on sacred vestments and utensils, must have done much to foster that revival of art in Rome which, begun in the second half of the twelfth century, showed "increased vitality in the thirteenth."¹

We have already seen what Innocent did for the churches of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, and of St. Peter. He is, moreover, credited with rebuilding the churches of S. Sisto *in Piscina* (or *Vecchio*), and Silvestro *in Capite*.² He also completed that rebuilding and decorating of S. Maria in Trastevere which has left it perhaps the very finest example of the art of the second half of the twelfth century.³ For mosaics for the basilica of St. Paul he gave a hundred pounds seventeen ounces of gold,⁴ and other large sums for the repair of the churches of St. Pantaleon, which had been burnt, St. Mary Major, St. Agnes, the charming round church of St. Constantia, and of the Lateran baptistery, known as St. John *ad Fontes*.⁵

Hundreds of Roman churches benefited by his donations of sacred vessels or vestments. As a result of an inquiry as to how many churches in the city were without silver chalices, he distributed a hundred and thirty-three such chalices, worth a hundred marks of silver,—one to each of the needy churches, "out of reverence for the holy mystery of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ."⁶

¹ Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Hist. of Painting in Italy*, i. p. 82, ed. 1903. On the next page we read: "The Roman school preserved its independent existence until the time of the Babylonish Captivity. In consequence of the absence of the Pope and his Court (at Avignon), Roman masters were deprived of their best patrons, and many artists left the turbulent and poverty-stricken metropolis."

² Armellini, *Le chiese di Roma*, 518, and 297.

³ *Ib.*, p. 639.

⁴ *Gesta*, c. 145.

⁵ *Ib.*

⁶ *Ib.*

It would take too much space to enumerate all the churches which received gifts of plate or vestments from the Pope. For one reason or another we may, however, mention the church of St. Thomas *de Hispanis*, then the national church of the Spaniards, but now known as the church of SS. Petronio e Giovanni de' Bolognesi, which stands behind the Farnese palace; St. Stephen *de Schola Cantorum*; and especially the church of S. Maria in Saxia which figures repeatedly as a recipient of the Pope's presents.¹ Many of the vestments which Innocent gave to the churches were made of that rich heavy silk stuff, shot with gold or silver threads, known as samite. It was originally made in the Isles of Greece, where it was called *examiton* (ἐξάμιτον),² but later on at Acre, Alexandria, and other places.

Besides adding various rooms, among others "a The summer room," to the Lateran palace, and strengthening it in various parts by buttresses, helping to make it one of the most wonderful piles of buildings in Europe,³ "he thought it not only right and proper but also useful that the Supreme Pontiff should have a fitting palace by St. Peter's." He accordingly reconstructed the Vatican palace,⁴ and added to it a series of buildings for domestic as well as for more elevated purposes, surrounding the whole of it with a wall, and protecting its main gateway with two towers.

¹ *Gesta*, cf. c. 149. Among the gifts to S. Maria in Saxia may be noted for art's sake an ornament with an engraved gem showing our Lord opening the gates of hell or limbo, "in cujus medio erat lapis onychinus habens sculpturam Christi spoliantis infernum." He would appear to have also given gifts to guild chapels: "to the rectors of the Roman fraternity and their chapel."

² In Latin *examitum*. "Ecclesiæ S. Salvatoris de Monte Amiato . . . unam planetam de examito rubeo aurifrigiatam." *Gesta*, c. 145.

³ Cf. Dante, *Par.*, xxxi. 34. "Alli cose mortali andò (the Lateran) di sopra."

⁴ "Fecit ibi fieri domos istas de novo." *Gesta*, c. 146.

The Pope's
physicians.

For the history of the medical profession it is also noteworthy that he bought a house which was situated within his new enclosure, and handed it over to his physician.¹ This was no doubt John Castellomata, one of the signatories of the will of Mary Queen of Aragon (April 20, 1213),² who would appear to have succeeded Romuald of the University of Salerno, to whom Giles of Corbeil, physician of Philip Augustus, dedicated his highly praised poem: "De compositorum medicaminum virtutibus."³

Of the Pope's physicians generally, if not of these two in particular, it has been asserted that they "were as a rule the most scientific medical men of their time"; that "the prestige of their appointment as papal physicians helped to raise up in the eyes of the people the dignity of the medical profession which they represented"; and that "there is no list of physicians to any European court, nor indeed any list of names of medical men connected together by any bond in history—no list, for instance, of any faculty of a university—which can be compared for prestige in scientific medicine with the papal physicians."⁴

Throughout the whole of the Middle Ages the Popes

¹ *Gesta*, c. 146. It became traditional that the Pope's physician (who came to be known as the *archiatros* or *protomedicus*, and who in time acquired great authority over his colleagues) should live in the Vatican. Cf. Rodocanachi, *Les corporations ouvrières à Rome*, ii. 363.

² Ap. D'Achery, *Spicileg.*, iii. 176, quoted by Migne as a note to *Gesta*, c. 146.

³ Cf. *ib.*, where it is said that P. Leyser, *Hist. poëtar. med. ævi*, p. 505 ff., published the greater part of Giles's poem. Speaking of Romuald in his *preface*, Giles says:

" . . . sed eum Romanæ curia sedis
Nunc colit, auctorem physicæ, vitæque patronum."

⁴ Dr. J. Walsh, in his most able work *The Popes and Science*, pp. 202-4, New York, 1908. The learned physician shows that the Popes have done as much for science as for literature, art, philosophy, and the sacred cause of charity.

treated the medical faculty in the most broad-minded manner. The doctors were left free to practise and to teach as they thought best. Even if they were Jews, no obstacle was placed in their way, and they were frequently honoured with papal patronage.¹

Innocent III., in particular, advanced the cause of medicine indirectly as well as directly. He increased the prestige of the medical profession by providing, as stated, a house for his physician in the grounds of the Vatican ; and, by denouncing monks "for usurping the province of doctors,"² he directly benefited the faculty. During the days of storm and stress in the early Middle Ages medicine, like every other peaceful art, was driven to take refuge in the monasteries. But with better times it again left the cloister, and Innocent was determined that monks should not leave their enclosures even to pursue so noble a quarry as medicine.

What Innocent did for the embellishment of the churches of Rome he did for churches in various cities of the Patrimony. He sent large sums to Viterbo, Civit  Castellana, Corneto, Fossanova, and Casamari for the building or repairing of churches or monasteries, and presents of all kinds for ecclesiastical purposes to Anagni, Segni, and Ferentino, where his family had special influence, as well as to Orte, Reate, Spoleto, and other places.³

Innocent's
gifts to
places out-
side Rome.

¹ These are the *dicta* of Rodocanachi, writing on the *Corporation des M decins*, ap. *l.c.*, p. 364. Alexander III. and Clement III. had Jews for doctors.

² Ep. vii. 75, and xiv. 159.

³ *Gesta*, cc. 145, 149 ; e.g. "Monasterio Foss  Nov , unam cappam auream quadraginta duas uncias et dimidiam quando ipsius consecravat altare ; . . . ecclesi  cathedrali civitatis ejusdem (*i.e.*, Sora) . . . pro viduis et orphanis maritandis mille libras." c. 149. Speaking of Innocent's generosity, Luchaire says (i. 211) that it was his custom to give to *every* bishop who came to visit him a mitre and an emerald ring. It is indeed recorded that he gave those gifts to one bishop (c. 145), but it would appear too much to allow here the deduction : "ex uno disce omnes."

With all his lavish generosity, Innocent was nevertheless prudent, and his biographer tells us that he put aside a sum of money only to be used in case of some dire necessity suddenly arising.¹

The
Cosmati

It would seem more than likely that for some of his artistic undertakings in Rome and out of it Innocent employed the *Cosmati*, one of those family groups of artists who called themselves *Marmorarii* or marble-cutters, but who were in reality sculptors, mosaic-makers, painters, and architects all combined. These *Marmorarii* came into prominence in the second half of the twelfth century. Thenceforward for three centuries, *i.e.*, till towards the middle of the fourteenth century, when the absence of the Popes from Rome killed art there, they did most excellent work, especially in that style of art which took its name from Cosmas, one of the distinguished members of their guild. If the Roman *Marmorarii* did not invent they at least perfected that geometrical arrangement of coloured marbles, either on a large (*opus alexandrinum*) or small scale, which is known as Cosmati work or "parcel mosaic," and which in their hands lent itself so admirably for the making of beautiful floors or for decorating pillars, pulpits, paschal candlesticks, and the like.² The names of two members of the Cosmati family are to be found in inscriptions which bear dates that fall within the pontificate of Innocent III. An epigraph over the door of S. Saba on the Aventine sets forth that the mosaic work there was executed by Master James (Magister Jacopus) in the seventh year of the pontificate of Innocent III., and an inscription on an arch at Cività Castellana proclaims work done by Magister Jacopus and

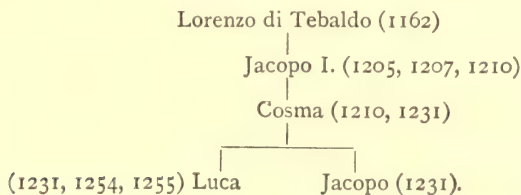
¹ *Gesta*, c. 149.

² Cf. Frothingham, *The Monuments of Christian Rome*, p. 123; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Hist. of Painting in Italy*, i. 84 ff.; Lanciani, *The Destruction of Ancient Rome*, p. 180 ff.

his son Cosmas in 1210.¹ It is true that Innocent's name does not appear to be connected with either of these places as a benefactor, but it does in connection with the church of St. Thomas *in Formis* and its adjoining monastery (now in ruins) on the Celian.² The marble doorway of the monastery still stands at the entrance of the Villa Mattei, and above it may be seen a mosaic showing our Lord with a black slave on one side of Him and a white one on the other, freed from their chains. On the arch of the door is an epigraph which belongs to the time of Innocent, and which states that Magister Jacopus and his son Cosmas accomplished this work.³

Equally at the Pope's disposal was another distinguished family of artists, that of the Vassalecti or Bassalecti, one of whose names—Petrus Bassalectus—appears on the magnificent paschal candlestick of St.

¹ C. and C., p. 85, and Giovannoni, *Note sui marmorari romani*, p. 9, ap. *Archivio Rom. di storia patria*, 1904. The last-named author corrects many mistakes made by previous authors as to the genealogy of the Cosmati. From him we take the following table :



The dates in connection with the names are drawn from inscriptions or authentic records. Cf. Frothingham, *l.c.*, p. 350 ff., for the different families of Roman *Marmorarii*.

² *Gesta*, c. 145. "Ecclesiæ S. Thomæ de F. 20 libras pro recolligenda quadam terra." Innocent gave this church to the new Order of the Trinitarians founded for the redemption of captives. Cf. Hurter, *Tableau des Institutions de l'Église*, ii. 488. In one of the wide niches of the church of St. Constantia there are fragments of Cosmatesque mosaic, and, as we have seen above, p. 90, that church received a sum of money from Innocent for its repair.

³ Giovannoni, *l.c.*, p. 10, and Armellini, *Le chiese di Roma*, p. 504 f.

Paul's outside-the-walls, to which Innocent gave gifts in abundance.¹

Carnival
festival at
Monte
Testaccio.

In concluding the story of Innocent's relations with Rome, we may note with interest that he shared in the simple amusements of its people, as well as in their strenuous life. In days gone by his predecessors had shared more largely in them,² but increased care had lessened the power of the Popes to take part in them. However, from the *Liber Politicus* of Canon Benedict, printed with the *Liber Censuum*, we may perhaps conclude that the carnival festival at the Monte Testaccio, the potsherd hill, still survived in the days of Innocent III. On Quinquagesima Sunday the knights and "trained bands" (*pedites*) of Rome met together after breakfast, and, after sharing a friendly glass (*bibunt inter se*), the trained bands laid aside their shields and went off to the Monte, whilst the knights went to the Lateran for the Pope. With them and the prefect the Pope rode to the hill "in order that, as the city took its rise there, so there on that day the pampering of our bodies might be brought to an end." The games were held in the Pope's presence, so that no disturbance might arise. Among other things there were killed a bear to typify the slaying of the devil, the tempter of our flesh; a young ox to denote the slaughter of the pride of life; and a cock to show forth "the destruction of our impurities in order that henceforth in struggle of mind we may live chastely and soberly, so that at Easter we may deserve to receive worthily the Body of the Lord."³

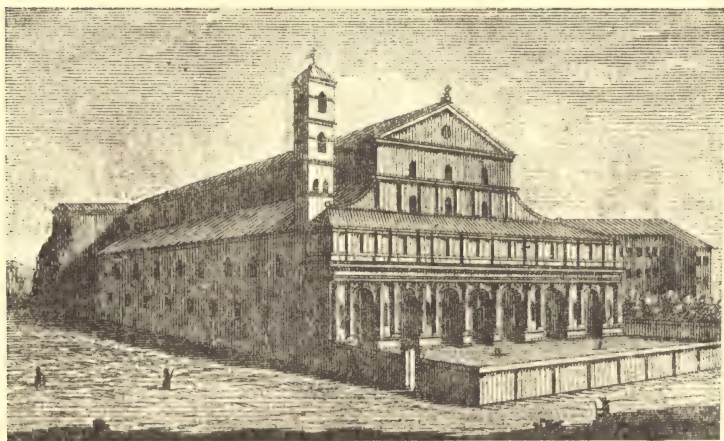
¹ On this family see, besides the other authorities already cited, Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 238 f.

² Cf. *supra*, vol. iii. p. 286 ff.

³ Cf. *Le Liber Cens.*, ii. p. 172, ed. Fabre-Duchesne. Étienne de Bourbon († c. 1261), a youthful contemporary of Innocent, also gives an account of these festivities from hearsay, and not so accurately, ap. *Anecdotes Historiques*, pp. 423-4, ed. Lecoy de la Marche.

In course of time, perhaps owing to the long residence of the Popes at Avignon, they ceased to be present at the games on Monte Testaccio. Whether in consequence of this or not, these festivities gradually lost all religious signification, and by the year 1402, when the Welshman Adam of Usk visited Rome, they had sadly degenerated. Adam, who has left us a description of the games as they were carried on in his time, says that "in these games too the Romans run riot like brute beasts in drunkenness (the feast of misery), with unbridled extravagance, like to the sons of Belial and Belphegor."¹

¹ *Chron.*, an. 1404, pp. 92, 221, ed. Thompson, London, 1876. A little later another Britisher, John Capgrave, gives us a description of these games, *Ye Solace of Pilgrimes*, p. 50 f.



Old St. Paul's outside-the-walls before the fire of 1823.

CHAPTER III.

ITALY. THE PATRIMONY OF ST. PETER, BOTH IN ITS
RESTRICTED AND IN ITS GENERAL SENSE. THE
TUSCAN AND LOMBARD LEAGUES. SARDINIA.

The
Patrimony
of St.
Peter.

IN the last chapter we saw Innocent, after a struggle of ten years' duration, lord of the city of Rome, and its royal benefactor in the domains both of art and of philanthropy. And inasmuch as, according to the phrase of an old Icelandic historian, "he was born to rule, and was naturally of a generous disposition,"¹ we shall in this chapter see him occupying much the same position with regard to the rest of the Patrimony of St. Peter.

Whilst he was struggling to have his authority recognised in Rome, he was also striving to introduce the reign of law and order into the *Patrimonium Petri*, and to recover therein the lost rights of the Papacy. When in May 1198 he told our King Richard that he intended to visit his dominions when he had arranged the affairs of the city and of the kingdom of Sicily and the rest of the Patrimony of the Church,² he had probably no idea that it would prove such an arduous undertaking as it did to settle those affairs. It took him almost as long to enforce recognition of his authority in the Patrimony of St. Peter as in the city of Rome. But he persevered in his task when once he had taken it up, for he looked

¹ Abbot Arngrim who in the fourteenth century wrote the life of Bishop Gudmund of Holar (1203-1237), ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxix. 415. The abbot declares the Pope was a glorious example to the other prelates of Christendom: "nam erat dominationi idoneus et elemosynarius."

² i. 230.

upon the care of the Patrimony as one of his most important duties.¹

What was then specially known as the *Patrimonium Petri* was the country stretching from Radicofani to Ceprano and Terracina, and from the Sabine mountains to the sea.² It corresponded practically to the modern province of Roma, and was divided by Rome itself into two nearly equal portions, of which the northern half was called the *Patrimonium Petri* in the most restricted sense.

Innocent states very plainly the reason of his anxiety to recover control over the Patrimony of the Church. "The liberty of the Church," he wrote, "is best provided for where the Church of Rome has full power in temporals as well as in spirituals. For, since the Apostolic See is the Mother and Mistress of all the churches in proportion as it more firmly restrains those subject to its temporal power from injuring churches and ecclesiastics, the more does it redound to its prejudice and to that of all the churches if it preserve not the churches in its own Patrimony in their proper condition of liberty."³

He accordingly made it generally known from the very beginning of his pontificate that he intended to be effective master of all the territory that had ever been recognised as belonging to the Church of Rome, including the Tuscan donation of the Countess Matilda. Some of the barons sent in their submission to him at once. Among these was the powerful Hildebrand, lord of Montalto,⁴ which with its castle, founded on the ruins of

¹ "Sane inter alias occupationes et sollicitudines nostras, curam et provisionem apostolici patrimonii non modicas reputamus, tam ad spirituales jurisdictionem nostram spectantis quam etiam temporalem." Ep. ii. 203.

² "Patrimonium ecclesiæ a Radicofano usque Ceperanum." *Gesta*, c. 9.

³ i. 27.

⁴ See his oath inter epp. Inn. I. 578: "Papatum Romanum et regalia B. Petri et nominatim Montem altum et quidquid aliud teneo de ipsis regalibus adjutor ero ad retinendum, quæ non habet ad recuperandum." Cf. the renewal of this oath, ap. *P. L.*, t. 217, p. 298.

the classical Forum Amelii, still overlooks the Aurelian road. Oddo of Palombara and Oddo of Monticelli took the oath of fidelity to him on the very day of his consecration.¹ Both the places (about three miles apart), of which these two Oddos were the lords, were situated on advance eminences of Monte Genaro, and their castles, of which remains exist to this day, dominated the Campagna. By granting his cousin, John Oddonis, Montorio (Romano) and Caminara (presumably Cameria, now Le Pedicate),² also in the neighbourhood of Monte Genaro, the Pope got a firmer grip of that district; and still further to retain his hold on the Sabina he kept in his own hands the stronghold of Rocca Anticoli, on the left bank of the Anio near Subiaco.³

South of Rome, possession of the huge castle of Lariano⁴ in the neighbourhood of Velletri, with which it was often at war,⁵ helped to give Innocent control of the Alban hills. It was in this castle that he afterwards imprisoned Adenulf, abbot of Monte Cassino, for daring to fortify certain castles in opposition to the Pope.⁶ Innocent's castellans also held in the same neighbourhood "Sarianum and Castrum," *i.e.*, perhaps Soranum (or Suranum) in the territory of Albano,⁷ and Castrum Vetus, now Le Castella, in the neighbourhood of Velletri.⁸ In the extreme south of the Patrimony he compelled the consuls and people of Terracina, who were at enmity with the Frangipani, to submit to him, and to yield up to him "Rocca Circe," the key of the Maremma, and other fortresses round their city.⁹ He had already, it should be

¹ i. 23.² vii. 102.³ *Gesta*, c. 14.⁴ Arx Lariani, "quæ est fere præ cæteris Roccis Italiæ spatiosa," Ep. v. 138.⁵ Cf. Tomassetti, *La campagna Romana*, ii. 360, 368.⁶ Ric. of San Germ., *Chron.*, an. 1215.⁷ Tomas., *ib.*, 219 f.⁸ *Ib.*, pp. 298, 355.⁹ Cf. their oath attached to ep. vi. 206. "Nos consules et populus Terracinenses ab hac hora in antea erimus recti fideles et ligii homines

noted, had to buy back the "Rocca" from a noble to whom the Frangipani had granted it in fief although they themselves were only the custodians of it for the Holy See.¹

The valley of the Sacco, between the Apennines on the east and the Lepini on the west, which was one of the main thoroughfares in the southern half of the Patrimony, was also well in his power. His brother Richard, as heir of the Poli,² held the entrance to the valley as lord of Valmontone and Piombinara,³ the ruined walls and towers of both of which may still be seen high up above the level of the valley. Possession of the fortress of Monte Fumone, and his family influence in Anagni,⁴ Segni, and Ferentino rendered his power in the valley further south quite effectual.

The other great avenue of communication in the southern portion of the Patrimony was between the Lepini mountains and the sea. Through this ran the Appian Way, which was completely dominated by Cora (Cori). This strong mountain city Innocent, at the request of its people, committed to the care of his brother-

d. P. Inn. . . . Restituemus ipsi . . . roccam Circegi, etc. *Cf. ep. ix. 71*, and Potthast, 1800, an. 1203.

¹ *Gesta*, c. 14.

² Ep. vii. 143, xii. 5. From the second letter it appears that Valmontone was bought in the Pope's name by money furnished both by himself and by his brother. It was then made over to Richard on condition that he and his heirs "pacem et guerram ad mandatum Romani pontificis contra quoslibet homines faciatis." It was already held for the Roman Church in the time of Hadrian IV. *Cf. Liber Census*, ii. 128, ed. Fabre.

³ Otherwise written Pimpinara, Plombinara, or Plumbinaria. It is about five miles from Valmontone and thirty from Rome.

⁴ When he was in Anagni in the year 1201 (from October onwards) we find him receiving the homage of John of Ceccano for that city and the other lands he held from him—"mittens manus suas inter manus d. Papæ fecit ei ligium homagium." The Pope then invested him with a silver-gilt cup, ap. *P. L.*, t. 217, p. 286. The most picturesque town of Ceccano, near the Sacco, is some fifteen miles south of Anagni.

in-law, Peter Anibaldi, his seneschal,¹ and in the plain below he placed his cousin and marshal, James, in command of Ninfa, in return for his services against the enemies of the Holy See, and of the young Frederick of Sicily.²

The
Patrimony
north of
Rome.

In the northern half of the Patrimony, known as *Roman* Tuscany, Innocent kept in his own hands the important positions of Radicofani, with its grim hill fortress commanding the road from Tuscany, Montefiascone, occupying "the centre of the basin of Lake Bolsena," and the heights of Orte, on its "abrupt and lofty cliff" lording it over the Tiber,³ the Nera, and the Via Ameria. At Radicofani he caused the old walls to be increased in height, built new ones, and further protected the place by a deep moat.⁴

Monte-
fiascone.

Of all the fortresses (*munitiones et castra*) which belonged to the Roman Church, Innocent thought most of that of Montefiascone.⁵ We find him, accordingly, building a chapel in connection with its palace, clearing away houses behind the palace, and connecting it by means of walls with the city ramparts, in which he made a special gateway.⁶ Furthermore, to ensure the safe keeping of the palace, he entrusted it to one of his relations, Romanus Carzoli, in whom he had supreme confidence.⁷ He had had no little difficulty in recovering possession of Montefiascone. It had been strongly held by the German troops of Philip of Suabia, and, as

¹ Ep. xiv. 86, an. 1211.

² Ep. xv. 114, an. 1212.

³ *Gesta*, c. 14, for the fact of Innocent's keeping these three places in the hands of his own castellans. Epp. v. 138 and xv. 13 show Innocent using the governors of these fortresses to enforce his will. Cf. ep. xv. 13.

⁴ *Ib.*

⁵ Ep. vi. 105. "Inter omnes munitiones et castra quæ Romana tenet Ecclesia, munitionem et castrum Montis Flascon. non solum intendit sed cupit et providentius gubernari et studiosius custodiri."

⁶ *Gesta*, c. 14.

⁷ Ep. vi. 105.

Innocent complained, its people had been almost the last to return to the obedience of the Holy See.¹ Even after the town had returned to its allegiance, there remained a party in it who favoured the Germans, and put forth as an excuse the oaths they had taken to them. Innocent accordingly turned to the young king of Sicily, who, as one of the candidates for the Empire and son of Henry VI., had naturally great influence with many of the imperialists. Frederick, in compliance with the Pope's wishes, thereupon wrote as "king of Sicily, of the duchy of Apulia, and of the principality of Capua" to the men of Montefiascone who were loyal to him. Feeling how much he was indebted, he said, to his father in Christ, the lord Innocent, and to the Roman Church, he wished to show his gratitude by fulfilling his desires "royally and devotedly." He therefore proceeded to tell them plainly that he was pleased that they had returned to their allegiance to the Supreme Pontiff, and to bid them hold of no account any oaths they were said to have taken to him.²

Nor was it without trouble and expense that Innocent recovered Toscanella (the ancient Tuscania), which dominates the valley of the Marta, and the little picturesque mountain city of Acquapendente, which he had to free from the harassing attacks of lordly Orvieto,³ and concerning which he declared emphatically that no one should be its "rector" or podestà unless he was a native of the place and a vassal of the Holy See.⁴

¹ Ep. i. 311, an. 1198. "Licet ad fidelitatem Ecclesiæ Romanæ quasi novissimi redieritis," etc. Innocent nevertheless granted the townsfolk half the tolls in order that they might keep both horse and foot soldiers ever ready to defend the place, or to be at the service of the Pope.

² Ep. ii. 184, ap. epp. Inn. ; or ap. *Hist. dip. Fred.*, i. pt. i. p. 29.

³ *Gesta*, c. 12.

⁴ Ep. v. 138. Cf. ep. xii. 80, an. 1209, where Orvieto is denounced for plundering Acquapendente, "nulla nobis exposita vel oblata querela."

This appointing by cities of their governors without any reference to the Pope was one of the anomalies which Innocent was at pains to suppress,¹ though occasionally he allowed a town to choose its own consuls "during the Pontiff's pleasure."²

Among the serious troubles which Innocent, in his efforts to recover this part of the Patrimony, had to master was the flagrant lawlessness of two bandit nobles, whose castle was apparently in the neighbourhood of Vetralla, situated on one of the northern slopes of wooded Cimino, and kept guard over the old Via Cassia, one of the principal roads to Rome. These men had long been wont to live by plundering the pilgrims who were on their way to the Eternal City. As they paid no heed to the admonitions of the Pope, he ordered the "rectors" of the Patrimony to bring them to their duty by force. It was only after their lands had been ravaged and their last stronghold was about to be stormed that the robber lords made an unconditional surrender. Travellers were no longer to be molested; the robber lords had to promise to make satisfaction for their wrongdoings, take the usual oath of fealty to the Pope, and as a guarantee of better conduct for the future, they had to deposit a thousand pounds of the money of Siena.³

From the story of Pietro Parenzi which we are about to relate, it may perhaps be inferred that, if the robber lords of castrum Rispampini were not heretics themselves, they were certainly not averse to protecting heretics if it suited their purpose.

The efforts of Innocent to subject to his control the

¹ Cf. his letter to the people of Sutri, ix. 201, an. 1206; and to those of Spoleto, ix. 161; Radicofani, viii. 211, an. 1205; and Cività Castellana, ii. 78, and 306, an. 1199.

² Ep. viii. 211.

³ *Gesta*, c. 15; cf. ep. i. 378. Their stronghold is called "castrum Rispampini."

cities of the Patrimony were complicated by the appearance of heresy in some of them, particularly in Orvieto and Viterbo. Before his accession there had appeared in the former town a certain Florentine, by name Diotesalvi, a man, says Master John, canon of the church of Orvieto,¹ of venerable appearance, who was the first to spread successfully "the heresy of the Manichæans." He denied the efficacy of the sacraments, declared that all the Popes from Blessed Sylvester I. were in hell, and taught that every good man was equal to St. Peter, and every bad one to Judas, and that every visible thing had been created by the devil and was subject to him. After he had been expelled from the city by the bishop, two women took up the secret propaganda of these doctrines. When their doings were brought to light, the bishop, acting on the advice of the clergy and the principal laity, began a fierce persecution of the sectaries, whom he pursued in some cases even to death.²

But the dispute between Innocent and the city relative to Acquapendente, of which mention has already been made, prevented these measures from achieving their end. The dissension led to the bishop's being detained in Rome by the Pope.

Taking advantage of the absence of the bishop, a Manichæan teacher came from Viterbo, and was so successful in his mission that he thought his party was strong enough to attempt to drive the Catholics out of the town and to take possession of it for themselves. His idea was that the strong city of Orvieto might be made a powerful centre for the Cathari "from all parts of the world." But the Catholics, seeing their danger, banded

¹ It is to this contemporary that we owe the whole story of Parenzi. Master John's biography of him is printed by the Bollandists, *ap. Acta SS.*, 21 Mai., v. pp. 86-99.

² *Vita Par.*, i. n. 2.

together, and sent to Rome for a "rector," that they might thus win Innocent's favour.¹

Pietro
Parenzi.

The "rector" (podestà) selected for them by the Romans with the Pope's approval was Pietro Parenzi, a man "young in years but old in sense," eloquent, firm, public-spirited, and very charitable. On his taking leave of Rome, Innocent bade him extirpate the heresy, and assured him that, "if on that account he were to incur death, he would secure the everlasting reward of the kingdom of Heaven." Pietro was received most enthusiastically by the people, at least by the Catholic party, in February 1199.²

Soon after his arrival he proclaimed that all the heretics who returned to the Church by a certain date should be pardoned, but that those who refused to submit should be punished in accordance "with civil and canon law."³ Those, therefore, who would not submit were punished by imprisonments, whippings, exile, and the destruction of their houses.⁴

During the course of this persecution, Parenzi returned to Rome, and presented himself before Innocent when he was returning from St. Peter's to the Lateran. He met the Pope "at the basilica of St. Daniel," *i.e.*, no doubt at the church of S. Daniele de Forma, in the neighbourhood of the Lateran, a church frequently mentioned in the bulls of Honorius III.⁵ In reply to Innocent's question as to his treatment of the heretics, the podestà replied that they

¹ *Vit. Par., ib.*, and c. 3.

² *Ib.*, and c. 4.

³ "Poenam exciperent legibus et canonibus constitutam." *Ib.*

⁴ *Ib.*

⁵ *Cf. Regesta Hon. III.*, i. p. lxvi, lxx, etc., ed. Pressutti. On the latter page there is a bull of November 7, 1216. It marks certain boundaries thus: "Exinde a via revolvente supra ecclesiam SS. Marcellini et Petri usque ad eccles. S. Bartholomei de capite merulanæ et deinde a S. Daniele usque ad portam Urbis." *Cf. Armellini, Le chiese di Roma*, p. 246.

had fared so hardly at his hands that they had threatened him with death. The Pope, however, bade him persevere fearlessly, and assured him that, "if he were killed by the heretics," he absolved him "from all bonds of sin."¹

Not long after his return to Orvieto, Parenzi was betrayed into their hands by one of his servants, who had been bribed by the heretics (May 1199). Some of them wished to convey him at once "to a certain *arcem Ruspampanum*, an abode of the vilest men."² The others, however, anxious for more summary proceedings, told him that, if he would save his life, he must engage not only to cease to persecute the Patarines, as the Cathari were often called in Italy at this time, but even to show them favour. Death and mutilation promptly followed his refusal to comply with their demands.³ It would appear that, in murdering Parenzi, the Cathari killed their cause. At any rate, for the time, we read no more of heresy at Orvieto, though, as we have seen already, its people continued to have occasional difficulties with the Pope on the question of municipal independence.

More populous than Orvieto, if not so impregnable, was the city of Viterbo. It was from this place that the Patarines of the former town had received teachers and support. Innocent accordingly found it necessary to resist not only its heretical tendencies, but its attempts at complete political autonomy, which were often the cause of the former. How the Pope dealt with the Tuscan League, to which, without his permission, Viterbo dared to affiliate itself, and how he dealt with the heresy in its midst, will be recounted hereafter. Meanwhile, let it suffice to note here that to settle Roman Tuscany generally he resolved to make a tour

Innocent
at Viterbo
1207.

¹ Vita, *ib.*, n. 7.

² *Ib.*, ii. n. 9. Cf. *castrum Rispampini* above.

³ *Ib.*, n. 9.

through it himself, as he had done through the duchy of Spoleto in 1198. He had already sent several cardinal legates to different cities of the Patrimony,¹ but at length, "in the tenth year of his pontificate, after he had celebrated the feast of the Ascension (June 4, 1207), Innocent left the city, went to Viterbo, and was received by its people with the greatest joy and honour. His first care was to wipe out the corruption (*spurcitia*) of the Patarines, with which the city of Viterbo was deeply tainted.² This he did lest the Roman Church should be reproached with suffering heretical depravity to exist under its eyes in its own Patrimony, and should not be free to call others to account on this matter of heretics, lest it should hear: 'Physician, heal thyself' (St. Luke iv. 23), or 'Cast first the beam out of thy own eye, and then thou shalt see clearly to take out the mote from thy brother's eye' (St. Luke vi. 42). The Patarines, however, fled on the news of the Pope's approach. But he, calling together the bishops and clergy of the city, ordered a careful inquiry to be made regarding the heretics (*credentes eorum*) and their aiders and abettors, and a full list of them all to be drawn up. Then he commissioned the podestà and the consuls to cause all the people to swear and to give pledges that they would obey his commands. Then he ordered the houses in which the Patarines had been received to be razed to the ground, and issued a series of statutes against them."³

¹ Cf. ep. ii. 203 ; cf. ii. 202.

² *Gesta*, c. 123. Cf. ep. x. 130. "Ad eliminandam omnino de patrimonio b. Petri hæreticorum spurcitia, servanda in perpetuum lege sancimus ut quicumque hæreticus, *et maxime Patarenos*, in eo fuerit inventus, protinus capiatur, et tradatur sæculari curiæ puniendus secundum legitimas sanctiones." Cf. *ib.*, 105 and 139.

³ *Gesta*, *ib.* The letter just quoted contains the laws against the Patarines which will be given later.

Innocent remained some months at Viterbo, and, before he left it, held a great assembly of the bishops and abbots, counts and barons, podestàs and consuls of the Patrimonium Petri, the duchy of Spoleto, and the March (Sept.). On the first day he laid down what were the territorial rights of the Roman Church, and received oaths of obedience from the laity;¹ on the second day he listened to grievances, and on the third issued regulations "by his spiritual and temporal authority" for the well-being of the clergy and for the peace of the cities.² Especially did he forbid anyone but the rector of the Patrimony to execute justice.

Knowing the importance of seeing for himself, Innocent did not return directly to Rome, but resolved to visit on his way back some of the chief towns of the *Patrimonium*. Crossing a beautiful, well-watered and fertile country, he first visited Toscanella on the Marta, and thence made his way to Corneto, which, powerfully perched on a volcanic eminence, close to the same river not far from its mouth, guards the Via Aurelia, the coast-road to Rome, and watches the surrounding plain. From Corneto he journeyed by Rovertello to ancient, ravine-protected Sutri, and thence by the Lago di Bracciano to Rome. Innocent was at length master of the Patrimony, and had taught the citizen in the crowded town and the baron in his grim castle that his authority was not to be flouted with impunity. The cities learnt too that submission to Innocent and especially a visit from him brought them prosperity. The people of Toscanella had their ancient privileges confirmed,³ those of Corneto

Great diet
at Viterbo,
1207.

Innocent's
tour
through the
Patrimony,
1207.

¹ Among others the famous Hildebrand of Montalto renewed his oaths of fealty to Innocent about this time at Montefiascone. *Gesta*, c. 127. See his oath ap. *P. L.*, t. 217, p. 298.

² Cf. *Gesta*, cc. 124-5, and epp. x. 131 and 132.

³ Originally granted by Pope Leo IV., Potthast, 3206.

saw a papal palace rise in their midst,¹ and those of Sutri witnessed the solemn dedication of their cathedral.² A visit of the Pope transformed for the time each little town into a Rome, as the abbot of Andres said of Viterbo during Innocent's sojourn in it this year.³ Every day for a month, so we are assured by the good monk, there were more than forty thousand strangers in Viterbo, among others many monks from Canterbury, and "their countryman the venerable lord cardinal Stephen (Langton), a man eminent for virtue and learning."⁴

The duchy
of Spoleto.

When Innocent assumed the papal crown (*regnum*), he did not propose to himself to be content to be the sovereign of Rome and of the *Patrimonium Petri* strictly so called. He resolved to recover all the territorial rights of the Papacy, and to be recognised as suzerain in the duchy of Spoleto, the march of Ancona, and the duchy of Ravenna and Romaniola, as well as in the Tuscan lands of Matilda—then for the most part in the hands of the German followers of Henry VI. In his anxiety not to allow temporal affairs to occupy his time and attention to the detriment of his spiritual duties, he felt sometimes that the care of "the Apostolic Patrimony" did withdraw him from due solicitude for all the churches.⁵ Still, as he said, "the Patrimony of Blessed Peter was his portion, his desirable and magnificent inheritance,"⁶ and the due care

¹ *Gesta*, c. 127.

² *Ib.*

³ "Viterbium . . . deveni, et ibidem Romam inveni." *Chron. Andrensis*, c. 156, ap. *M. G. S.S.*, xxiv.

⁴ *Ib.* Innocent found that so much good resulted from these visitations that he made a tour through Campania in the following year (1208), when fresh disturbances in Rome caused him to leave the city. *Cf. supra*, p. 83.

⁵ "Cum nos, . . . propter curam apostolici patrimonii, ab occupationibus variis, quas pro statu Ecclesiarum omnium indesinenter subimus, sæpius nos contigerit evocari; nolentes . . . temporalia spiritualibus anteferre," etc. ii. 202.

⁶ Ep. i. 356. He speaks of "patrimonium b. Petri portionem nostram desiderabile et præclarum hæreditatis nostra funiculum."

of it, he declared, was no small part of his duty. He realised that he was bound to intervene in its government, because many in it "were abusing the patience of the Apostolic See, disturbing the peace, violating justice, and destroying the security of the highways and the country to our great disparagement."¹

On the death of the Emperor Henry VI. a general rising took place against his lieutenants in Italy. With great difficulty his brother Philip of Suabia escaped to Germany,² and many towns at once threw off the German yoke. Among others who found that many of his cities had revolted from him was the duke of Spoleto, Conrad of Urslingen, not to be confused with Conrad of Lützelhard (†1197), known as "Bee-in-bonnet" (*musca in cerebro*).³ When he saw that numbers of his subjects "were returning to the dominion of the Roman Church," that the division of the Empire gave him no hope of help from Germany, and that there was on the throne of Peter one who was a match even for a united Empire, he endeavoured to come to terms with Innocent. He offered to give him ten thousand pounds at once, to pay an annual tribute of a hundred pounds of silver, and to furnish two hundred men for service in the Patrimony "from Radicofani to Ceprano."⁴ Not unnaturally, Innocent felt disposed to entertain the duke's offer. But he was soon told that if he listened to Conrad he would be thought "to wish to encourage the stay in Italy of those Germans whose cruel

¹ Ep. ii. 203 to the consuls and people of Sutri. "Curam et provisionem apostolici patrimonii non modicas reputamus. . . . In eo multi . . . sunt . . . abutentes . . . sedis apostolicæ patientia, pacem perturbant, corrumpunt justitiam, stratam violent, et terram offendunt; unde nobis et vobis non modicum derogatur." He wrote in the same strain to the other chief cities of the *Patrimony* and of the duchy of Spoleto.

² Burch. and Con., *Ursperg. Chron.*, an. 1197.

³ Cf. Hefele, *Conc.*, v. p. 1194 n., new ed. by Leclercq, Paris, 1913.

⁴ *Gesta*, c. 9.

tyranny had reduced the people to the most degrading bondage.”¹ He accordingly made it known to his critics that he intended to keep the Patrimony of the Church in his own hands, for the benefit of the Church and the good of Italy,² and informed the duke that agreements were out of the question.

Unconditional
surrender
of Conrad,
1198.

Finding that his position was untenable, Conrad consented to an unconditional surrender. Innocent therefore despatched to Narni cardinals Octavian of Ostia and Gerard of the title of St. Hadrian, and, in presence of a large assembly of bishops, barons, and people, he swore on the Gospels, relics, and the cross to submit to the Pope. Conrad then absolved his vassals from their oaths of allegiance to him, bade them all return to the service of the Roman Church, and, in earnest of the sincerity of his intentions, straightway yielded up two of his strongholds, Rocca Gualdo and Rocca Cesi.³ He also gave orders for the surrender of the citadel of Assisi into the hands of the Pope. But the people of that city, who were at the time laying siege to it, either because they had some special grudge against it, or because they were not anxious to be coerced either by Pope⁴ or Emperor, only gave it up after they had reduced it to a heap of ruins.⁵

¹ “Licet d. Papa conditionem istam utilem reputaret, quia tamen multi scandalizabantur ex ea, tanquam vellet Theotonicos in Italia confovere, qui crudeli tyrannide redegerant eos in gravissimam servitutem,” etc. *Gesta*, c. 9. Cf. ep. i. 88.

² “Videbitis . . . quod patrimonium Ecclesiæ non ad opus alterius, sed ad ejus dominium et profectum Italiæ intendimus perpetuo revocare.” . . . “Qui (Innocent) . . . in puritate procedimus volentes Ecclesiæ patrimonium ad honorem ipsius et profectum Italiæ non alienis tradere, sed nobis ipsis perpetuo conservare.” Ep. i. 88.

³ *Gesta*, c. 9. These two fortresses Innocent henceforth kept in his own hands. *Ib.*, c. 14.

⁴ “Cumque nuntios suos cum seneschalco nostro dirigeret, ut nobis arcem Assisii restitueret, contradicentibus Assisinatibus . . . quod intendebat non potuit adimplere.” Ep. i. 88, April 16, 1198.

⁵ *Gesta*, c. 9; cf. ep. i. 88.

Although Conrad had thus abandoned his claim to the duchy of Spoleto, he did not at first leave it, hoping no doubt to take advantage of any opportunity to recover it. By Innocent's orders, however, he was compelled to quit Italy. As far, then, as the Germans were concerned, the Pope was master of the duchy of Spoleto, and received through his agents oaths of allegiance from its citizens and from its greater and lesser nobility (*a baronibus et catanis*). To give proof of his intention to be master in his newly recovered duchy, he ordered the destruction of the fortress of St. Mary's Mount in revenge for its having been the prison of Cardinal Octavian on his return from France in the days of his predecessor.¹

For the purpose of confirming the loyalty of the people of the duchy to his person, Innocent left Rome just after the feast of SS. Peter and Paul (June 29), and made a royal progress through it. As he went from city to city we read of him performing spiritual acts in one place and temporal in another. Now he is consecrating an altar, now confirming the privileges of the cities,² now nominating rector, and everywhere offering gifts to the churches. It is not, however, to be supposed that the Pope was henceforth the peaceable ruler of the duchy of Spoleto. His letters show the difficulties he had in keeping many of the cities sufficiently submissive to his authority, and at peace with one another, or with themselves.⁴ Civit  Castellana, for instance, gave him no little trouble. Not content with the oaths of allegiance tendered by its consuls, Innocent insisted that each and all of its in-

Innocent
visits the
duchy of
Spoleto,
June-Nov.,
1198.

¹ *Gesta*, c. 9. Cf. ep. ii. 33 and 175.

² Cf. ep. i. 375, October 2, 1198. He allows the people of Perugia to keep their form of government, and their special privileges, "saving the authority of the Apostolic See, the claims of justice, and the liberty of the churches"; and i. 426 for Todi.

³ *Gesta*, cc. 10 and 145.

⁴ Cf. *Gesta*, c. 127, for the disturbances in Todi between the nobles and the people.

habitants should take an oath of fealty to him.¹ Nevertheless, though we find them paying tribute to him,² Innocent had to lay their city under an interdict before they would make amends for nominating a rector without his knowledge.³ He had to do the same with Assisi,⁴ and had to take Arezzo severely to task for attempting to rebuild the fortress of St. Mary's Mount.⁵ The podestà and people of Spoleto were informed that the acts of their judges and notaries were of no legal value, inasmuch as they had dared to appoint them without reference to him.⁶

As an illustration of the difficulties he had in keeping the cities at peace with one another we may take the case of Narni and Otricoli. Although Innocent threatened the former town with interdict and a fine of a thousand pounds if they did not cease harassing the smaller place, the people of Narni set his prohibition at naught, and seized and destroyed Otricoli. But Innocent, "just and firm," says his biographer, assembled an army, punished them severely, exacted the fine of which mention has just been made, and devoted part of it to the rebuilding of the walls of Otricoli.⁷ Later on the insubordinate spirit of the people of Narni broke out again, so that Innocent was compelled to lay upon them the interdict with which he had already threatened them, and to add the further threat of depriving them of their rank as an episcopal city.⁸

The March
and the
duchy of
Ravenna
and Rom-
aniola.

In a similar predicament to that of Conrad of Urslingen

¹ Ep. i. 369. "Universi et singuli fidelitatis iuramenta præstetis."

² Ep. ii. 33. ³ ii. 78, May 1199. Cf. ii. 256.

⁴ Ep. vii. 83, June 1204. At the same time he promised to confirm their freely elected "rector," if he were not under excommunication or an enemy of the Church. ⁶ ii. 175; cf. ii. 33.

⁶ ix. 161, an. 1206. "Cum nec illos tabelliones nec istos iudices reputemus." ⁷ *Gesta*, c. 16.

⁸ Ep. xi. 143, an. 1208. "Pontificalem eis cathedram auferemus, parochiam ejus per vicinas dioceses divisuri." Cf. epp. xvi. 94, 116.

was Markwald of Anweiler, who is set down as "seneschal of the Empire, duke of Ravenna and Romaniola, and marquis of Ancona and Molise" in southern Italy.¹ Innocent's biographer describes him as a man of talent and craft, who had acquired a large fortune in Sicily under Henry VI., whose prime favourite he was, and of whose will he was the executor.² It may be added that his cruelty made him a fitting first lieutenant of Henry.³ At the time of the death of his master he was in Sicily (September 1197); but, when the empress promptly expelled the Germans from the kingdom, he was compelled to swear that he would never again enter it without her permission. Accordingly, says the southern Italian chronicler we are quoting, the marquis betook himself to Ancona, where, no doubt in his efforts to put down opposition to his authority, "he and his followers committed every outrage."⁴

"Immediately after his election" Innocent despatched two cardinals into the March to receive the allegiance of the revolted cities. Thereupon Markwald sent an embassy to the Pope asking for a safe-conduct, as he wished to make his submission to him. At the same time he declared that, if the Pope would receive him into favour, he would do more for the Roman Church than anyone else had done since the days of Constantine, since the late emperor's will (of which he proclaimed himself the executor and guardian) would redound greatly to its honour and glory.⁵ Meanwhile, however, he begged that

¹ *Gesta*, c. 9.

² *Ib.*

³ Innocent declares that the greater part of Henry's cruelties in the two Sicilies should be laid to the account of Markwald, "quod ex majori parte procuratum est per astutiam Marcowaldi." Ep. i. 558. Cf. vii. 228, where Innocent, who had cause to be no friend of Markwald, speaks of his "evil memory," and calls him "dives et potens, astutus et audax."

⁴ Rich. of St. Germ., an. 1197.

⁵ Direct from the *Gesta*, c. 9. "Cum testamentum illud ad ingentem redundaret Ecclesiæ Romanæ gloriam et honorem."

the cardinals might be ordered not to receive the pledges of fidelity to the Church.

But Innocent would only grant that in the meantime the cardinals should make no attempt to compel obedience to their authority. They were, nevertheless, to continue to receive the submission of those who came to them of their own accord. Markwald, whose only object had been to gain time, at once refused the safe-conduct which Innocent had sent him, and endeavoured by money and force to retain his hold on the March. But all in vain, the cardinals excommunicated him for his excesses,¹ and he found that his power was waning rapidly. He then offered the Pope a large sum of money and an annual tribute if he would leave him lord of the March. As Innocent, who mistrusted him, refused, Markwald found it necessary to quit the March, and, despite the prohibition of the empress, re-entered the kingdom of Sicily.

Submission
of a large
portion of
the March
to the
Roman
Church.

"The whole of the March except Ascoli," says Innocent's biographer, "was therefore brought back to the dominion of the Roman Church, *i.e.*, Ancona, Fermo, Osimo, Camerino, Fano, Jesi, Sinigaglia, Pesaro, and all their dioceses."² But the submission of the March to the Pope did not in fact take place so readily and rapidly as the words of the biographer would seem to imply. In the month of March 1199 we see Innocent writing thus to the consuls and people of Jesi: "Whereas the spiritual jurisdiction of the Apostolic See is not confined within any limits, but has received power over peoples and kingdoms, it has even, by God's grace, received considerable temporal jurisdiction."³ He goes on to say

¹ Cf. ep. i. 38, March 1198, confirming their sentence, and absolving his liegemen from their oaths to him: "utpote qui fidem Ecclesiæ multoties præstitam violavit, qui patrimonium Ecclesiæ invadere ac detinere præsumpsit."

² *Gesta*, c. 9.

³ Ep. ii. 4. "Cum apostolicæ sedis jurisdictio spiritualis nullis terminis coarctetur, imo super gentes et regna sortita sit potestatem,

that much of this temporal power which had been taken from the Church is now returning to it, that the duchy of Spoleto, and a large portion of Tuscany (Roman Tuscany) have already returned to it, and that, by the mercy of God and their zeal, *almost all* the March has come back to its old allegiance. In the following year (1200) there were further troubles,¹ apparently regarding taxation, and certainly regarding the question of internal peace among the different towns. Delegates from some of the cities made known to Innocent that they were dissatisfied with certain regulations of his cardinal legates. In response to their complaints, the Pope at once despatched plenipotentiaries to the March to effect the necessary reforms. But he insisted that the cities should meanwhile keep the peace with one another,² that all who had not yet taken the oath of fealty to him should do so without further delay, that they should render up all properties that belonged to the Holy See, and that they should pay the taxes agreed upon. He was, however, careful to add that, despite any regulations to the contrary, he only wished that moderate taxes should be imposed, "in order that the March might rejoice that it had returned to the dominion of the Church."³ That his envoys might be received more favourably, he ordered them, under proper securities, to release all the political prisoners. Letters setting forth these points almost in the same terms were sent to Fermo, Ancona, and other towns.⁴

in multis etiam . . . ejus extenditur jurisdictio temporalis." Still on January 25, 1199, he could write (i. 557): "Tota fere terra quam idem Marcowaldus habuerat in Marchia, sit . . . ad dominium ecclesiae revocata." Cf. i. 558.

¹ Ep. iii. 28. Through his agents and through delegates from the disaffected districts, Innocent says: "Marchiam audiverimus fuisse turbatam."

² "Præcipimus quatenus interim ad mandatum eorum Treugas ad invicem inviolabiter observetis." *Ib.*

³ *Ib.*

⁴ Epp. iii. 28-39.

However the taxation question fared, it was not easy for the Pope to prevent private wars. But, by letter after letter addressed to the different towns,¹ he made it plain to them that peace he would have. The state of things, he declared to them, was worse now that they were enjoying the delights of freedom than when they were in the bonds of servitude.² If, however, they were not content with the sweets of peace, he would let them taste of the bitterness of war, and they might impute to themselves the consequences of their conduct.³

Innocent's representations must have produced their effect. With the exception of a letter or two about recovering some small possessions of the Holy See,⁴ and one to the people of Ancona urging them to resist the pretensions of one who claimed to exercise authority over them in the name of the emperor,—with these exceptions the papal registers appear to be silent about the March till towards the close of his reign, when his troubles with the new emperor Otho began.⁵ In his letter to the people of Ancona just noticed, he said that the envoy whom he was sending to them would explain to them a clause of the will of Henry VI., which would remove any scruples they might have as to the justice of their position. Furthermore, "there were two parties in the Empire, each of them anxious to obtain his favour. Hence they would leave the March in peace, as neither party could obtain the imperial crown without his adhesion."⁶

¹ Epp. iii. 30-31, 46, 48-53, an. 1200.

² Ep. iii. 49.

³ *Ib.* "Alioquin, quoniam abhorretis dulcedinem, amaritudinem sentietis, vobis solummodo imputantes quidquid mali contigerit evenire."

⁴ Ep. vii. 23, an. 1204.

⁵ He again took the March from the Pope. *Cf.* epp. 189, 193, 196. Supplement, ap. *P. L.*, t. 217.

⁶ Ep. vii. 228. We shall have some more to say about the will of Henry VI.

But the case was very different when death removed one of the rival emperors, and Otho, crowned by Innocent himself (October 1209), proved false to his engagements, and revived the pretensions of the Hohenstaufen House in Italy. He was soon acknowledged as suzerain by the greater part of the March. To be able to offer a more effectual resistance to him, Innocent decided to give the March as a fief to some powerful noble. He quickly fixed on Azzo, marquis of Este, as the proper person for his purpose, and already in June 1211 bade the archbishop of Ravenna entrust to him what he could not guard himself.¹ On May 10, 1212, he formally made over the March to Azzo as a fief, "because of the sincerity of his devotion to us and to the Roman Church," on condition that he should every year pay to the Apostolic See the sum of a hundred pounds of the money of Provins, should every year serve at his own expense for a month with a hundred soldiers in the Patrimony, and should at the Pope's bidding hold the March against all men.² On the death of Azzo, Innocent granted the fief to his son Aldebrandino,³ and Honorius III. to Azolino after him.⁴

The Pope
enfeoffs the
March to
the Mar-
quis of
Este, 1212.

¹ Ep. xiv. 77.

² "Marchiam Anconitanam in rectum tibi feudum concedimus, . . . (et) tu quandocunque et ubicunque per totum ipsius ecclesie patrimonium a mare usque ad mare, et a Radicofano usque Ceperanum requisitus fueris, servies nobis cum centum militibus," etc. Document, ap. Theiner, *Cod. Diplom.*, i. p. 44, n. 56.

³ He did not show any zeal to bring back the March to the obedience of the Holy See, and Innocent had to threaten to bestow the fief on another. *Ib.*, n. 57. Cf. ep. 188 (supplem., ap. t. 217) of May 5, 1214, to the people of Spoleto to help "Aldebrandino, marquis of Este and Ancona," in his efforts "ut eam (the March) ad Ecclesie R. dominium revocet, et teneat pro eadem." Cf. epp. 189 and 192, and see also 193 and 196 exhorting the people of the March to give up the cause of Otho and to return to the obedience of the Holy See: "quatenus a sequela dicti Ottonis . . . penitus discedentes, ac redeuntes ad Romanam Ecclesiam . . . eidem marchioni . . . adhæreatis fideliter." Ep. 193.

⁴ *Ib.*, n. 56.

The duchy
of Ravenna
and Ro-
maniola.

If the Pope's power in the March, especially during the last few years of his pontificate, was not very effective, it was still less so in the duchy of Ravenna. There he had to face not only the same elements of opposition as in the March, but also the archbishop of Ravenna, who claimed to rule it in virtue of papal concessions. In the first year of his pontificate he sent a letter to the archbishop and his suffragans exhorting them to help his legate Carsendinus in his efforts to bring back to the allegiance of the Roman Church "the exarchate of Ravenna and the county of Bertinoro" (in the southern portion of the duchy). At the same time he pointed out to them that increased temporal power of the Holy See in that locality would be followed by greater freedom for them.¹ But although the power and authority, and consequently the resources, of the archbishops had fallen so low that Innocent had even to send one of them vestments,² they had not lost the traditional love of independent authority which had always distinguished their predecessors. Archbishop William (1190-1201) accordingly maintained that the exarchate had long ago been committed to the care of the archbishops of Ravenna, produced papal privileges, and declared that as late as the year 1177, Alexander III., when in Venice, had confirmed to his predecessor the county of Bertinoro.³ For the time being Innocent thought it advisable not to press his claims, but "saving the rights of the Apostolic

¹ Ep. i. 27. He asked their help "ut honori apostolicæ sedis et nostro deferre, et Ecclesiarum vestrarum libertatem videamini utiliter procurare."

² *Gesta*, c. 127; *cf.* ep. x. 115. Archbishop Albert (†1207, *cf.* ep. v. 6) was succeeded by Giles (*cf.* ep. x. 47); who received Innocent's presents.

³ *Gesta*, c. 12. *Cf. supra*, vol. vi. p. 103 f., and vii. 57, for examples of the rebellious attitude of the archbishops of Ravenna. They began to wish to rule the exarchate as independent sovereigns almost as soon as it had been given to the Popes by Pippin. *Cf. supra*, vol. i. pt. ii. p. 326 ff.

See," permitted the archbishop to recover and to hold the county of Bertinoro.¹

He did not, however, cease to endeavour to reclaim certain territories which were more or less independent of the duchy of Ravenna and Romaniola—as, for instance, the county of Ferrara. He reminded its people of the vain efforts that were made to induce Pope Lucius III., when at Verona, to consent to its alienation, and of the way in which, in contempt of him, they had submitted to the yoke of another. He exhorted them, on pain of his deep displeasure, to return to the obedience of the Roman Church.²

In all probability the words of the Pope produced little effect. At length, however, Ferrara fell into the power of his lieutenant, the marquis of Este, and then Innocent was able to act as its lord. Hence his Register shows him ordering his legate, the bishop-elect of Albano, to provide the city with a bishop,³ and to decide whether it was advisable to agree to the request of the marquis that he might be allowed to build a citadel in Ferrara in order the easier to keep it for the Church.⁴

Nor in fine did Innocent cease to make the Ravenese archbishop act as his legate. He insisted upon his going personally to Modena in order to force its authorities to stop their oppression of the Church,⁵ and he commanded him to guard the city of Argenta.⁶

¹ *Gesta*, c. 12.

² Ep. ix. 181, November 1206.

³ Ep. xiv. 76, June 1211.

⁴ *Ib.* 80. "Per quod (castrum) ipsam (the city) melius defendere valeat, et ad fidelitatem R. Ecclesiæ conservare."

⁵ Ep. vii. 41, April 1204. Innocent bitterly upbraids the Lombards for turning against the Church of God, "who freed them from the hands of their enemies," and threatens them that, if they continue to tax the clergy, to force them to dig trenches, to appear before lay tribunals, and to deprive them of their dues, he will not merely excommunicate the city authorities, and lay the town under an interdict, but will not allow the sons of the podestà and of the other civic rulers to the third and fourth generations to rise to any ecclesiastical honours, and will deprive the city of its bishopric, etc.

⁶ Ep. xiv. 77.

The lands
of the
Countess
Matilda.

South of the line from Luna to Bercetum and thence to Mons Silicis, *i.e.*, south of the northern boundary line of the Donation of Pippin, there still remained Tuscany proper, the lands of the Countess Matilda. These also Innocent attempted to recover from the cities which held them. But the cities would only surrender them on their own terms, and as these did not suit the Pope, he allowed the matter to drop for the time. He had too many other affairs on hand to engage in a quarrel with the cities of Tuscany,¹ which, moreover, as we shall see presently, were strong in their newly formed League. Later on, however, after Otho's promise to restore Matilda's lands to the Pope, Innocent granted a large portion of them in the province of Emilia to the powerful Salinguerra of Ferrara. As Salinguerra agreed to hold his portion of the lands "of the Countess Matilda of illustrious memory" only from the Roman Church, to pay it every year "as a tax (*nomine census*)" forty marks of silver, and to serve for a month each year with from a hundred to twenty-five soldiers according to the distance of the district from Ferrara in which he was called upon to serve, the Pope hoped to reap some advantage from the contested property.²

The
revenues of
the States
of the
Church.

It would greatly help us to estimate the amount of real hold that Innocent had over the States of the Church if we knew the revenue he derived from them. Unfortunately, the documents are wanting which might enable us to find out this fact, interesting, moreover, in

¹ *Gesta*, c. 13. In a quiet way, however (as ep. vii. 64, an. 1204, May, shows), he did not cease to try to recover some of the properties of the Holy See in Tuscany.

² Cf. the *Instrumentum Salimguerre*, September 1215, ap. *Lib. Cens.*, i. 341. "Eandem terram nec teneo nec tenebo nisi a Romana tantum ecclesia . . . et serviam ei . . . meis sumptibus in Lombardia et Romania cum 100 militibus, in Tuscia vero, Valle Spoletana vel Marchia cum 50," etc.

itself. The *Liber Censuum* has, however, preserved one or two documents which are worth attention. One of these, unfortunately not dated, but which no doubt represents the state of things under Innocent, deals with the broad and fertile vale of Umbria, along which, almost to its very end, the traveller looks with rapturous admiration from the heights of Perugia. The document in question¹ deals with some thirty localities in the *Vallis Spoletana* (as the Umbrian vale is here called), both with towns such as Assisi,² Foligno, Spello, Terni, etc., and with villages. From this vale the taxes amounted in cash from feudal dues to one thousand three hundred and forty-one pounds, sixteen solidi. Besides this, from twenty-three of the localities, the papal Curia received sometimes one-third, sometimes two-thirds, and sometimes the whole of the local fines, taxes, and tolls; and from some ten localities varying quantities of corn; and from Collestates, on the Nera to the east of Terni, a chicken from every house.³

We know that the same state of things obtained in other parts of the duchy of Spoleto in Innocent's reign, as for instance at Reate (*Rieti*),⁴ and that, at times, some powerful noble seized the revenues which ought to have come to the Pope.⁵

¹ No. 199, i. p. 450 ff., ed. Fabre: "Hii sunt proventus et redditus de Ducatu castrorum de Valle Spoletana et antiqui."

² From Assisi, as we might have expected from the independent attitude it was able to take up with regard to papal authority, the revenue of the Holy See consisted of merely half the tolls for which the Pope each year accepted 50 pounds.

³ The first entry in the document runs thus: "Castrum Roscianum (on the left bank of the Chiaggio, between Bettona and Tergiano) solvit pro fodro 15 libras lucenses; pro adjutorio Nativitatis 6 libras; pro adjutorio Pasce resurrectionis 3 libras. Et habet ibi curia tertiam partem de bannis, folliis, et salariis; de quibus quantitas non est certa, quia quandoque est parum et quandoque non multum."

⁴ Cf. *ib.*, p. 8*, or Theiner, *Codex diplom.*, i. p. 29. Cf. also *Lib. C.*, i. 54 f. and 377.

⁵ Cf. *L. C.*, i. 450.

With regard to the March of Ancona and the territories of the Countess Matilda, we can only say that it is asserted that Innocent maintained the regalian charges almost at the same moderate figure as had been fixed by the emperors.¹

THE TUSCAN AND LOMBARD LEAGUES. SARDINIA.

The
Tuscan
League,
Nov. 11,
Dec. 4,
1197, and
Feb. 5 and
7, 1198.

On the death of Henry VI., Florence, Lucca, Siena, other cities of Tuscany, the bishop of Volterra, and other Tuscan notables, listening to words of the envoys of Celestine III., formed a League, in order to prevent a recurrence of the tyranny to which they had had to submit during that emperor's reign.

The written constitution of the League—a very long document²—opens thus: “In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen. May the grace of the Holy Spirit come down upon us! To the honour of God and of the Blessed Virgin Mary, of all the Saints, and of the Roman Church, and to the honour and safety of all who are or shall be in this League (*securitas*)—we swear on the Holy Gospels of God henceforth to the end of our lives to maintain true peace and concord among all the persons of this society. . . . And if any person, prince or king, . . . wishes to make war” . . . on any member of this League (*compagnia*), we will not only not assist him in any way, but will, in accordance with the direction of the rectors of this League (*societas*), help the member which is attacked. “Nor will we receive any emperor” or any representative of his “without the assent and special order of the

¹ Cf. Huillard-Bréholles, *Étude sur l'état politique de l'Italie* (1183–1355), p. 88 f., ap. *Mémoires de l'institut. nat. de France*, t. 27, Paris, 1873. Both Fano and Camerino were supposed to pay 50 pounds a year. Epp. iii. 52, 53.

² Ap. *Documenti . . . del Comune di Firenze*, ed. P. Santini, Florence, 1895.

Roman Church.”¹ The members of the League also undertook, when called upon so to do, to help to recover such property of the Holy See as had not been for some considerable time in the hands of any member of the League.² These provisions were sworn to in the presence of cardinals Pandulf of the basilica of the Twelve Apostles, and of Bernard of the title of St. Peter *ad vincula* (legati Tuscie), in the church of St. Christopher in the Borgo San Genesio.³

The leagues of the great Lombard plain were now matched by a league of the hill-cities of Tuscany.⁴ There can be no doubt that one object of the Tuscan League was “to secure to the cities the complete possession of their respective territories,”⁵ *i.e.*, of those which they were then holding. It will then be readily understood that Innocent could not give an unmixed approval to its constitution. According to him some of the clauses of

¹ “Et non recipiemus aliquem imperatorem . . . sine assensu et speciali mandato Romane ecclesie.” *Ib.*, p. 36.

² But there was to be no help “si qua civitas vel comune hujus societatis aliquid detinet de predictis possessionibus usque ad odium diem.” No League could have been formed if its members had not decided not to interfere with long-standing claims. *Cf. Gesta*, c. 11. Pisa could never be induced to join the League. This “civitas maxima . . . inter Tusciæ civitates” (as Innocent calls it, ep. i. 555) would not listen even to the exhortation of the Pope to join the League, though he reminded them: “cum turpis sit omnis pars suo non congruens universo.”

³ Documents 22–26, ap. Santini, *l.c.*, p. 39, relate to the same subject. The men of Certaldo took their oath of allegiance to the League so firmly that “neither the Pope nor any other person could absolve them from it”—“Hec omnia juramus observare . . . ita quod nec Papa, nec alia persona posset nos unquam absolvere ab isto juramento.” *Doc.* 26, p. 47.

⁴ *Cf. Balan, Storia d'Italia*, iii. p. 439. See also especially Villari, *Hist. of Florence*, p. 158 ff., London, 1901. The *Gesta* says nothing of the important proviso annexed to the undertaking by the League to defend the possessions of the Holy See. It is, however, quite possible that the *Gesta* simply deals with the League as finally approved by Innocent.

⁵ Villari, p. 159.

the act of incorporation were neither useful nor honourable.¹ He had himself read the *Donation* of Matilda and the other privileges of the Holy See, and from these it was clear to him that "the duchy of Tuscany belonged to the sovereignty of the Roman Church ('ad jus et dominium Ecclesiæ Romanæ pertineat.')" ² The legates Pandulf of the basilica of the Twelve Apostles, and Bernard of St. Peter *ad vincula*, were instructed to inform the *rectors* of the League that they had no right to form a League, except saving in all things the rights and authority of the Holy Roman See. While the Pope was prepared to go all lengths in defence of those who were loyal to the Holy See,³ he made it known that he would endeavour to force the recalcitrant Pisans to join the League, of which he approved in principle,⁴ if its *rectors* would agree to his terms.⁵

In some way or other unknown to us, the heads of the League would seem to have satisfied Innocent,⁶ whose demands, in view of the strength and utility of the League, may have moderated.⁷ At any rate, in the October of the first year of his pontificate he wrote to the *prior* and the other *rectors* of the League that he was resolved to afford them his patronage against their foes so that it might prosper more and more.⁸ Further-

¹ Ep. i. 15. "Cum forma colligationis hujusmodi in plerisque capitibus nec utilitatem contineat, nec sapiat honestatem." Cf. epp. i. 34, 38, 88.

² i. 15.

³ *Ib.*

⁴ Societas "quam nos . . . conduimus totaliter approbandam."

⁵ i. 35.

⁶ Ep. i. 555. "Prior et alii civitatum rectores ad nostram præsentiam accedentes, tractatum concordie nobis . . . obtulerunt; in quo *post correctionem adhibitam*, nihil invenimus quod in ecclesiastici juris vel cujusquam minoris vel majoris personæ præjudicium redundaret."

⁷ Cf. ep. i. 58.

⁸ Ep. i. 401. "Firmum gerimus . . . propositum . . . vobis adversus oppressionis incursum . . . nostrum patrocinium exhibere; quatenus per apostolicæ protectionis auxilium . . . inita jam concordia semper inter vos de bono in melius perseveret."

more, to show his zeal for the welfare of the League, he urged the ecclesiastical and civil rulers of Pisa to do all in their power to induce the people to throw in their lot with the other Tuscan cities.¹

That Innocent had real influence with the League is proved by the fact that, at his bidding, it finally refrained from helping Viterbo against Rome.² But at this period no authority whatever except that of might was wholly respected by the Italian communes. So that if Innocent finally approved of the amended constitution of the Tuscan League, it was, as he said, because he could not find anything in it which was opposed either to natural justice or to the written canon law, and not because it was designed to be a source of much direct advantage to the Roman Church. And if he had but little trouble with the League as a whole, he had not unfrequently to take to task several of its members, especially the haughty Florentines who were its mainstay.³

The Tuscan city which gave the greatest anxiety to Innocent was maritime Pisa, the powerful rival of Genoa and Venice for the trade of the East. During the greater part of the twelfth century it had been true to the Popes. Gelasius II., Innocent II., and Gregory VIII. had found an asylum within its proud walls, and it had been greatly favoured by the Popes. But, towards the close of the century, it had learnt that it was more to its interests to stand for the emperor. It had therefore placed its fleets at his disposal; for it was desirous of having a free hand in Sardinia, which the

¹ Ep. i. 555. "Mandantes quatenus ipsos (the people of Pisa) inducere satagatis ut . . . concordiam inventam . . . quam fere universi et singuli de Tuscia receperunt, humiliter recipiant."

² Cf. *supra*, p. 74.

³ Epp. vii. 20, 21, an. 1204. Cf. x. 86, 101, where Innocent endeavours to induce the Florentines to make peace with Siena.

Papacy claimed as its own,¹ and which Innocent was striving to reform.² Hence whilst he was appointing one of his own trusted assistants, the notary Blasius, to the archiepiscopal see of Torres in order that he might work for reform,³ the ecclesiastical and civil authorities of Pisa were endeavouring to increase their hold on the island. Innocent found it necessary to impress upon the archbishop of Torres that the primatial authority of the archbishop of Pisa over his diocese was, under ordinary circumstances, in no way exceptional, and that he could only exercise special jurisdiction over it when, "with our authority, he exercises for definite periods legatine power in Sardinia."⁴ And, with regard to civil encroachments, he had to urge one of the *judges* of the island to resist the usurious demands of the Pisans;⁵ to

¹ Cf. ep. vii. 109 to the archbishop of Pisa in which he says that he knows that Sardinia "juris ac proprietatis apostolicæ sedis existat," and that its *judges* are wont to take oaths of fealty to the Roman Church.

² Cf. his letter to the lustful tyrant William of Massa, one of the four kings or judges who ruled or ruined the island. Ep. iii. 35, 1200. Cf. *ib.*, 36; vii. 107, 111-3.

³ *Gesta*, c. 147. Cf. about him ep. v. 131. Averse to reform, the prelates of the island did anything but co-operate with Blasius. On his visitations they at times refused to supply him with food even in places where it could not be bought. Ep. vii. 108.

⁴ Ep. vii. 110. Cf. iii. 9.

⁵ As to these exactions he writes: "Sicque contingit ut et multa indebita, et quædam credita, bis vel ter cum usuris gravissimis exsolvantur." Ep. vi. 28, an. 1203. At the same time he did not forget to exhort the Sardinian authorities to pay the taxes due to the Holy See. Ep. vi. 31. Cf. *Liber Censuum*, i. p. 234 ff., and Potthast, 5149. See also ep. iii. 9, where he bids the archbishop of Pisa commit the "censum Sardinia" to the Master of the Templars in Tuscany. As set forth in the *Liber Censuum* the tax amounted to 57 pounds of silver and 4 *massamutini* from the bishops and abbots, and 8 pounds of silver and 1100 gold byzants from the four *judges*. The tax of 4 pounds of silver which the *judge* of Torres is here set down to pay was definitely fixed at that figure by *queen* Adelasia in 1237 (cf. *Lib. C.*, i. p. 576, n. 322, for the act), and so was the tax of 1100 gold byzants

remind both the Pisan and Sardinian rulers that the latter were feudally (*jure feodali*) subject to the Apostolic See;¹ and to insist that the oaths of fealty should be taken to him, and not to any of the Pisan rulers.²

In the midst of his struggle to maintain his authority in Sardinia an event happened which Innocent endeavoured to use as a means of greatly strengthening that authority. In 1203 the *judge* of Gallura died, and left as his heir his only daughter Helen, whom he committed to the care of the Pope.³ Innocent saw his opportunity, and as guardian of the maid resolved to wed her to his cousin Transmund of Segni. Helen herself, her mother, and other responsible persons in Sardinia were told that the Pope would provide a suitable husband for his ward.⁴ Although Innocent strictly forbade any interference with his rights as suzerain,⁵ it was some time before the difficulties in the way were overcome. At length, however, the lady gave her consent, and in May 1206 Innocent was able to announce to Helen that his cousin was on his way to her. He assured her that he had instructed him to love her as himself, and to rule her subjects with justice, and at the same

The marriage of Helen of Gallura.

by the *judge* Peter of Arborea in the same year (*cf. ib.*, p. 579, nn. 327-8). But in 1224, instead of the 2 pounds of silver set down here to be paid by the *judge* of Cagliari, a deed of 1224 of the *queen* (*judicissa*) of Cagliari guarantees a payment of 20 pounds of silver (*cf. ib.*, p. 542, n. 274a). The *massamutinus* (a gold coin of the Almohades) was, somewhat later than this, worth an ounce of Sicilian gold, or about half a gold florin. *Cf. ib.*, p. 12, etc. whence these facts are taken.

¹ Epp. v. 124-5, an. 1202. The Pisans had endeavoured to extract an oath from one of the *judges* of Sardinia to expel the Genoese merchants under his jurisdiction. *Cf. vi.* 18.

² Epp. vi. 147 and ix. 63, an. 1206. *Cf.* a letter ap. Pitra, *De epp. Rom. Pont.*, p. 510, of March 14, 1206.

³ "Tam terram quam filiam suam sub apostolicæ sedis tutela." Ep. vii. 104. *Cf.* 103, 106.

⁴ Ep. vii. 103-6.

⁵ *Ib.*, and vi. 145-6.

time he begged her to receive his cousin honourably, and in turn to try to please him, that she might be loved and honoured by him with sincere devotion.¹

But whether the lady's affections had all the time really been placed elsewhere, or whether the Pisans had been able to persuade her that their interests were hers, when Transmund reached the island his affianced bride would not accept him. The Pope was much annoyed, and promptly wrote to the bishops of the island bidding them insist that she should keep her matrimonial engagements. If "the lady of Gallura" is great and noble, wrote the indignant Pontiff, still, with all due respect to her be it stated, her lineage is not more splendid than ours, nor has it ever touched the sublime dignity of the Apostolic See. Nor must she forget that, owing to the dependence of Sardinia on the Apostolic See, she is our ward, and hence, by feudal custom, cannot marry without our consent. Innocent cannot understand the frivolous excuses by which she is endeavouring to put off a marriage which was rather of her seeking than his.² Does she imagine that we ought to have waited for the approval of Pisa? Or does she despise Transmund because he did not come with greater pomp? She ought to have known that hardly anyone in the world could have sent him in greater splendour than we; but we bade him be content with a small following, as we were given to understand that such an arrangement would be for the greater good of all Sardinia. And it was this good which it was hoped this marriage would further.

¹ Ep. ix. 68, May 1206.

² Ep. ix. 147, August 17, 1206. It may be read in Pitra, *De epp. Rom. Pont.*, p. 516 ff., but not in *P. L.*, t. 215. "Miramur igitur . . . quare super ipso matrimonio consumando . . . difficultates innectit . . . cum rogati potius quam rogantes, præfatum consobrinum nostrum miserimus . . . secundum formam quam dilectus electus (the bishop of Galtella, Nuoro-Galtelly) ex parte sua et matris suæ nobis expressit."

If the lady of Gallura did not fulfil her contract, he would let her see, as her spiritual and temporal superior, "how rash and foolish it was to have wished to treat us with contumely."¹

Despite the Pontiff's threats, however, Pisan influence prevailed, and the lady of Gallura married the Pisan Lamberto Visconti. Innocent was very indignant. The newly wedded couple were declared excommunicated, Gallura was laid under an interdict,² and efforts were made to stir up the Genoese still further against the Pisans.³ The latter were alarmed, and offered Innocent terms of peace which he accepted, though he declared that they were not altogether satisfactory.⁴ Pisa was to compel Lamberto to go to Rome in person or to send some responsible representative, and to submit absolutely to the Pope's sentence for having taken possession of the kingdom (*judicatum*) of Gallura, and for having married Helen without his permission. He was also to be made to offer complete satisfaction to Transmund for the losses he had suffered. Should Lamberto fail to fulfil either of these stipulations, the Pisan podestà was to place all his property which was under the control of Pisa at the disposal of the Pope.⁵

In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, we

¹ *Ib.*

² Ep. xi. 143, October 27, 1207, where for *dominas* we should read *dominam*, and *Lambertum* for *Bambertum*.

³ Potthast, 2962, from *Cod. diplom. Sardin.*, i. 308, n. 7, January 7, 1207. That the two maritime powers were then, as usual, at war is clear from Caffaro, *Ann. Genuen.*, l. iv.

⁴ x. 117, September 10, 1207. Innocent appended to this letter the terms of settlement agreed to by the plenipotentiaries of Pisa.

⁵ *Ib.* "Pisana potestas præcipiet . . . Lamberto . . . ut veniat ad apostolicam sedem . . . et se absolute committet mandatis d. Papæ super eo quod judicatum Gallurense sine licentia summi Pontificis accepit . . . et dominam Gallurensensem in uxorem accepit, et super damnis . . . quæ Transmundus d. Papæ consobrinus propter hoc negotium est perpressus," etc.

may presume that due satisfaction was made to the Pope, and that for the time the Pisans ceased to push their claims in Sardinia. But a few years later, when Otho IV., after having been crowned emperor at Rome (October 1209), broke his oaths and proceeded against the young Frederick of Sicily, the Pisans espoused his cause,¹ invaded Sardinia, and incurred papal excommunication.² The "peace and quiet" which had descended on Sardinia under Innocent's influence³ departed, and were again being succeeded by the ravages of war when he died.

Lombardy
and its
League.

The increase of the power of Henry VI. had alarmed the "slippery" Lombards, as Salimbene calls them,⁴ and eleven cities, headed by Milan and Verona, had on July 20, 1195, renewed the League to defend the rights granted them by the council of Constance.⁵ But, although the death of Henry and the subsequent dissensions in Germany had relieved them from any fear from that quarter, Innocent is said to have induced seven of the eleven to associate themselves together once more

¹ Ep. xiv. 101, September 1211. Hence the *Chronica Pisana*, sub an. 1210 (ap. *R. I. SS.*, vi.) tells of 40 Pisan galleys being at Procida (island off Naples) "in servitio imperatoris." Cf. Caffaro, *Ann. Genuen.*, l. iv., an. 1211, ap. *ib.*, p. 401.

² Potthast, 5227, c. 1215. The text of this letter is not forthcoming. The *Chron. Pisan.*, an. 1217, says that in that year the Pisans built a citadel in Cagliari (Sardinia).

³ Ep. xiv. 101. Innocent says that the Pisans: "Paci quorum (the Sardinians) invident et quieti."

⁴ *Chron.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxxii. p. 342. Using words of St. Jerome, he calls his countrymen the Lombards: "Obliqui enim sunt valde et lubrici, dum aliud locuntur et aliud agunt, ut si vellis anguillam aut murenulam strictis tenere manibus, quanto fortius presseris, tanto citius elabitur."

⁵ Cf. Balan, *Storia d'Italia*, iii. 432; and Huillard-Bréholles, *Étude sur l'état politique de l'Italie* (1183-1355), p. 282 f. The oath of the rectors "of Lombardy, of the March, and Romagna (Romanie)" is given ap. Muratori, *Antiq. Ital.*, iv. 485, Milan, 1741.

(April 1198).¹ This he did no doubt in the hope that peace could be more easily preserved among the members of a league; for no sooner was external pressure removed from the populous cities of Lombardy than they began to turn their exhaustless energy against one another, or against themselves. Faction fights and wars between groups of cities were being waged with fierce cruelty, and without cessation. The local annals of Piacenza, Cremona, Parma, etc., are full of such notices as the following: The men of this place took out their *Carroccio* (war-standard) against the men of that, destroyed and burnt innumerable places, and depopulated the district. Innocent was, therefore, perpetually occupied with endeavours to promote peace, as his was the only authority that was in any way recognised in Lombardy.

Sometimes too the cities, in want of money for their perpetual wars, would try openly to wring it from the clergy; sometimes they would connive at their being robbed by the nobility. Thus we see the people of Cremona excommunicated for oppressing their bishop, the historian Siccard, and his clergy with excessive taxation,² and Parma and Piacenza getting into trouble on account of the Palavicini and some citizens of Piacenza, who had robbed the papal legate, Peter of Capua, on his return from Poland.³ As the lands of this noble family were situated in the neighbourhood of these communes, they were ordered by the Pope to force the banditti to

¹ Luchaire, i. p. 126. I know not on what authority this statement is made.

² Potthast, n. 1526, an. 1201. Later on Siccard returned good for evil, and contrived to quell a violent faction fight in the city. Cf. *Ann. Cremonenses*, an. 1210, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxxi. p. 12.

³ Cf. Innocent's letter on the subject to the consuls and people of Piacenza, ap. Pitra, *De epp. Rom. Pont.*, p. 487 ff., an. 1198, January 7–April 21. Peter had been sent to Poland by Celestine III. “de nostro et fratrum nostrorum consilio,” says Innocent.

restore their plunder. The people of Piacenza were especially warned that, if they did not force the robbers to make full satisfaction in a month's time, he would "give orders, under threat of excommunication, to the various provinces of the world that no one should trade with them, and that the goods of their merchants should be everywhere seized. He would subject their church to that of Ravenna, and if that was not enough to make them do their duty, he would deprive their city of a bishop, and both spiritually and temporally would lay a heavy hand on them. He meanwhile ratified the sentence of interdict which the cardinal had laid on Piacenza and its diocese, and the sentences of excommunication with which he had struck the Palavicini and their associates, and ordered them to be observed inviolably until complete satisfaction had been made. . . . He ordered the consuls of the past year to be excommunicated, because, though frequently appealed to, they had not punished the crime; and the consuls of the present year, the Privy Council of the city (the *Credenza, totam credentiam*) and the consuls of the merchants, he would also cause to be treated in like manner, and he would forbid their being admitted to the counsels of the Lombard League. . . . He had also written," he concluded, "to the *rectors* of the League, bidding them force the criminals themselves and the people of Piacenza to make satisfaction for such a great crime, if they did not wish the whole of Lombardy to be laid under an interdict."¹ Parma was the first to yield to this strong language and action.² The people of Piacenza seem to have soon followed the example of those of Parma,³ and

¹ Ap. Pitra, *ib.* Cf. ep. i. 121 to the clergy of Piacenza, April 21, 1198.

² Cf. epp. i. 340, 393 (October) and 403.

³ Cf. epp. ii. 111 and 304—letters showing the Pope confirming the appointment of a new bishop of Piacenza without any mention of any difficulties with the city.

last of all the representative of the house of Palavicini submitted to be scourged, and gave a fief to the Pope in token of his penitence.¹

It was not long, however, before the people of Piacenza were again giving trouble to the Pope. He had to blame them for the fierce war they were waging with Parma, which was embroiling the whole of Lombardy,² but still more for allowing themselves to be seduced "by heretical fallacies" and driving their bishop and clergy into exile.³ For this he threatens to remove the episcopal see from their city, "if city it can be called, after it has been deprived of its episcopal dignity."⁴ At length, however, through the mediation of the Roman merchant-bankers (*mercatores*), the consuls of Piacenza expressed their desire to comply with the commands of the Pope, and Innocent with joy informed them that he had ordered "the visitors (*visitatores*) of Lombardy" to bring the case to a satisfactory conclusion.⁵ They had to agree to pay some thousands of pounds down, and to make compensation for the damage done to the property of the clergy and of the Church.⁶

Piacenza
again in
conflict
with
Innocent.

¹ Epp. viii. 122-4. "Donavit . . . ad opus . . . apostolicæ sedis, jure proprietario quamdam suam arcem." Ep. 124, an. 1205.

² "Nec sufficit utrisque per se contra alteros dimicare, sed universam Lombardiam commoverunt ad arma, et alteri, cum universis fautoribus suis, alteris et omnibus eorum complicitibus generale prælium indixerunt." Ep. ii. 39, April 27, 1199.

³ Cf. epp. v. 75; vii. 123-5, 224-5, and ix. 78, 131, 166. In the last letter he speaks of the people of Piacenza "non solum episcopalìa jura temere invadentes, verum etiam facientes episcopum suum et clericos miserabiliter exulare." Cf. *ib.*, 167, where he says that Piacenza was "hæreticorum seducta fallaciis."

⁴ This phrase shows the idea that it is the episcopal see that makes a city. "Civitas eorum episcopali dignitate privetur . . . si tamen civitas sit dicenda, postquam amiserit dignitatem." Ep. ix. 166, an. 1206.

⁵ Ep. ix. 169, October, an. 1206.

⁶ Cf. ep. x. 64, 222; and xi. 175, an. 1208. As late as December 1215 the Piacenzan Annals of Codagnellus speak of an interdict being taken off the city "precepto summi pontificis," and of its being laid under another in the following year by his legates for going to war against Pavia.

It is impossible here to deal with all the negotiations which war, heresy, or what Innocent considered the unjust taxation of the clergy¹ caused him to enter into with the various cities of north Italy. But, from what the reader has now seen of Innocent's policy, he will be in a position to conjecture how he successfully combated the undue taxation of the clergy in Bergamo,² Verona,³ and Modena;⁴ how he proposed to make Novara a byword among the nations for driving its bishop into exile;⁵ how he strove to make peace between Acqui and Alessandria,⁶ to which he annexed the see of Acqui,⁷ and to which he sent a banner of St. Peter;⁸ how for six months he toiled hard to quell the long-standing feud between Milan and Pavia;⁹ and how he had the pain somewhat later of seeing Alessandria¹⁰ and Milan¹¹ espouse the cause of Otho against him.

¹ Luchaire, unable to divest himself of the prejudices of a modern Frenchman, is fond of seeing *anticlericalism* in any attack made by cities or individuals on the local clergy. The local clergy in Italy at this period simply shared "the chances of war," and it may be safely affirmed that there is nothing in the documents of the age to suggest that *anticlericalism*, as such, had then any political existence.

² Ep. xiii. 43.

³ Potthast, 1198.

⁴ Ep. vii. 41. Cf. vi. 45 and 46 to all the clerical and lay authorities in Lombardy on this subject.

⁵ Ep. iii. 6; cf. 7.

⁶ ix. 93. From this letter we learn that 5866 citizens took the oath of fealty to the Pope, and that the tax sent him from Alessandria was 25 pounds of the money of Pavia.

⁷ ix. 82, 83; Potthast, 2820.

⁸ ix. 94.

⁹ *Gesta*, c. 128 "studiosissime laborans."

¹⁰ xv. 138, an. 1212; cf. *ib.*, n. 189, p. 714, ap. *P. L.*, t. 216. In this latter letter he threatens to dissolve the union of the sees of Acqui and Alessandria. In the course of their support of Otho, the people elected as their *rector* a man who was excommunicated, and, moreover, suspected of heresy. Ep. xvi. 58, an. 1213.

¹¹ Potthast, 4278a; cf. ep. xv. 122. On his relations with the intractable city of Treviso, which disregarded Pope and emperor alike ("appellatione contempta quæ ad apostolicam sedem et imperium fuerit interjecta," ii. 27), cf. epp. ii. 8, 27; iii. 26, 39.

CHAPTER IV.

THE KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES.

OF all his worldly cares Innocent regarded that which concerned the kingdom of Sicily "as the most important . . . since," so he wrote, "besides the ordinary debt of pastoral solicitude which we owed it, its direction concerns us in a special manner, both as its suzerain and as its appointed guardian."¹

Innocent's view of the importance of the kingdom of Sicily.

That the care of the kingdom of Sicily and of its young king had been left to Innocent by the will of its last sovereign, the Empress Constance, is certain. Innocent frequently proclaimed the fact in public documents,² and it is so stated by well-informed historians.³

It is left in his care by Constance.

Moreover, there is some reason to believe that the supreme direction of the kingdom was left to the Pope by the Emperor Henry VI. himself, as well as by his wife, "to whom," says a contemporary with the strictest truth, "the kingdom belonged more than to her husband."⁴ As we shall see presently, Markwald of Anweiler, in the course of his struggle to seize, if not the

The will of Henry VI.

¹ Ep. ii. 245, an. 1199. "Et jure dominii et ratione balii dignoscatur (the kingdom of Sicily) ad nos ejus provisio specialiter pertinere."

² Ep. ii. 187 to various clerical and lay notables of Sicily: "Regni balium nobis fuerit ex inclytæ recordationis C. testamento relicto"; cf. ii. 192, 245. That the same will gave Innocent the tutelage of the young Frederick is also clear; cf. epp. i. 558-9 to the nobles clerical and lay of the kingdom. "Nobis . . . Friderici . . . regis est cura commissa"; cf. ep. xv. 114, an. 1212; *Reg. I.*, 29. See also *Chron. mon. Cistercen.*, sub an. 1199, ed. Gaudenzi, p. 33.

³ Ric. of San Germ., *Chron.*, sub ann. 1198, 1208; *Gesta*, c. 23.

⁴ *Chron. m. C.*, l.c.

kingdom itself, at least the first place in the kingdom, pretended that its management (*procuracionem*) had been left to him by the late emperor's will, of which he had been made the executor.¹ Of this will Markwald kept possession, and, as we have seen, simply told the Pope that it had been drawn up largely in the interest of the Roman Church.² After his defeat in Sicily (July 1200), the will of the late emperor, sealed with a golden bull, is said to have been found among his baggage. By this will it was laid down that the empress should do homage to the Roman Church for Sicily, which was to revert to the Church if Frederick were to die without an heir. On condition that the Pope confirmed Frederick in the Empire, the lands of the Countess Matilda were to be restored to him, except Medisina (some ten miles south-east of Bologna) and Argelata. Markwald himself was to do homage to the Pope for these two places, as well as for the duchy of Ravenna and the March of Ancona, which territories were to remain subject to the Roman Church in the event of Markwald's dying without issue.³

Innocent himself more than once⁴ alludes to this will; part of it is given verbatim by the author of the *Gesta*; and Markwald himself is said to have asserted that it was a document highly favourable to the Roman Church.⁵

¹ *Chron. m. C., ib.*; *Gesta*, c. 9; Ric. of St. G., an. 1198. ² *Gesta*, c. 9.

³ *Ib.*, c. 27. "De imperio ordinamus, quod d. Papa et Ecclesia Romana illud filio nostro confirment; et, pro hac confirmatione imperii et regni, volumus quod tota terra nostra comitissæ Mathildis restituantur d. Papæ," etc. ⁴ Ep. 188, *R. I.*, and vii. 228.

⁵ *Gesta*, cc. 9 and 27. A contemporary Italian continuation of Godfrey of Viterbo, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxii. p. 369, tells of Henry VI. "relinquens regnum, imperatricem, et filium sub custodia ecclesie Romane." That the young Frederick was left to the care of the Pope both by his father and mother is specifically stated by Innocent himself in a letter to the people of Gaeta preserved in the *Letter-book* of Thomas of Gaeta (Thomas Capuanus), the Justiciar of Frederick himself (†1243). The said *book* was discovered and published compara-

Owing, however, to the fact of its contents being long kept concealed, some modern authors do not regard it as authentic. Whether they are right or wrong affects the matter very little. The undoubted last will of the empress, and Innocent's rights as suzerain, are quite enough to justify his interference in the politics of Sicily.

On the death of her husband (September 1197), the first care of the empress was to expel Markwald, "of cursed memory," and all the Germans from her domains, to bring her son from Italy, and to have him crowned king at Palermo, May 17, 1198.²

The Pope on his side though, as we shall see, he would not support Frederick's candidature for the Empire, nevertheless complied with the request of the empress, and confirmed to her and to her son the kingdom of the two Sicilies. But before he consented to do so he insisted on the empress's renouncing the exceptional ecclesiastical privileges which Hadrian IV. had been compelled to concede. Innocent justly maintained that they were inconsistent with proper ecclesiastical freedom. Despite all her efforts, for the great Norman lady was very loath to lose any of the privileges enjoyed by her predecessors,³ Constance was compelled to yield.⁴ Freedom of episcopal election was once more restored to Sicily, and the Pope resumed his right to send legates there at his pleasure.

tively recently by P. Kehr—*Das Briefbuch des T. von G.*, Rome, 1905. "Fredericus . . . a patre ac matre ipsius specialiter fuit apostolice tutele relictus," February 1199, ap. *l.c.*, p. 46. Tolosanus (†1226) says the same: "Regem (Fred.) . . . Papa sub protectione S. Petri a patre et matre receperat," *Chron.*, an. 1210, ed. Borserius.

¹ *Anon. mon. Cist.*, p. 33; *Chron. Cas.*, an. 1196, ap. *R. I. SS.*, v. p. 73; Ric. of St. G., an. 1197.

² *Gesta*, c. 21.

³ See her strong letter to Celestine III. of October 3, 1195, ap. Kehr, *l.c.*, p. 50 ff.

⁴ *Ib.* Cf. epp. i. 410–11; or ap. *Hist. Dip.*, i. pt. i. p. 17 ff., and ep. xi. 208. Cf. *supra*, vii. 283 ff., and ix. 276 f.

Frederick brought to Sicily and crowned.

His title is confirmed by Innocent, Nov. 1198.

Innocent
obtains the
release of
Henry's
Sicilian
captives.

Whilst engaged in the negotiations which terminated in the recognition of Constance and her son as rulers of the two Sicilies, Innocent exerted himself in obtaining the release of the Sicilian supporters of the dynasty which Henry VI. had ousted. They had been treated by him with the utmost barbarity, and had been imprisoned in various parts of the Empire. "Soon after his accession" he sent envoys into Germany to urge the bishops to insist, under threat of ecclesiastical punishments, upon the immediate release of the captives. At the same time he assured the princes of the Empire that he would lay "the whole of Germany" (*totam Alamaniam*) under an interdict if they did not exert themselves for the same object. The legates were also instructed to approach Philip of Suabia, and to offer to release him from the excommunication under which he had been placed by Celestine III. for his devastation of the Patrimony, if he would obtain the release of the archbishop of Salerno, and make satisfaction with regard to the matters for which he had been excommunicated. To this Philip, who had been meanwhile elected king by one section of the German nobles, readily agreed, and at once procured the release of the archbishop and his brothers.¹ Although Innocent was convinced that their effeminacy had been the cause of the troubles of the Sicilian captives, he did not rest till they had been

¹ *Gesta*, c. 22. "Cœlestinus . . . excommunicaverat . . . Philip-pum . . . propter invasionem et devastationem apostolici patrimonii." Cf. epp. i. 24 and 25. In the latter letter Innocent says that he had been informed that Philip was anxious for a reconciliation with the Church. No doubt he was, as he was then hoping to obtain the Empire. Cf. also ep. i. 26, and *Burchard. et Cuonrad. Chron.*, an. 1198, p. 72. Burchard says (p. 73) that when he was a young man in Rome he saw some of the liberated blind prisoners, and (strong partisan of Philip) adds that Innocent introduced them to many "to render Philip the more odious."

released from their German prisons, and the empress had restored their property to them.¹

Innocent had now done much towards assuring a peaceful reign for Constance and the young Frederick ; but there were many elements of discord still uneradicated. There was Markwald in arms in south Italy, striving to seize Monte Cassino, which commanded the road to Naples and the approach to the kingdom ;² and there were many intriguers in the Sicilian court itself. The empress at once forbade all her subjects to lend any support to Markwald, and was disposed to dismiss from his office Walter Palear, bishop of Troya, chancellor of the kingdom, as his brothers had shown themselves partisans of Markwald. However, at the earnest intercession of the Pope, she not only restored him to favour, but by will named him one of the regents of the kingdom.³

Death
of the
Empress
Constance,
Nov. 1198.

Unfortunately, the affairs of the Sicilian kingdom were complicated by the death of Constance (November 27, 1198).

Markwald, who, as we have seen, after having been forced to abandon the March of Ancona, and to retire to his possessions in south Italy, had turned his arms against the empress, now prepared to invade Sicily itself, asserting that the late emperor had named him its regent.⁴ Meanwhile, however, he tried to gain over Innocent, who had taken the most vigorous measures to ensure his own recognition as warden of the kingdom,⁵ and to stir up active resistance against the pretender.

Markwald
embroils
the king-
dom.

¹ Ep. i. 26 ; *Gesta, ib.* ; and the brief contemporary chronicle published by Huillard-Bréholles, *Hist. Dip.*, i. pt. ii. p. 892.

² "Marcoaldus . . . ad regni procuracionem et dominium aspirans, multitudine armatorum stipatus, qui preterito anno per imperium mandatum exierat, rediens, destruxit et depopulavit totam terram S. Benedicti et alias plures." *Chron. mon. Cist.*, an. 1199 ; and *Gesta*, c. 23.

³ *Gesta*, c. 23.

⁴ Ric. of St. G., an. 1198 ; *Gesta*, c. 23.

⁵ *Gesta*, c. 23.

Markwald himself had been declared excommunicated ; the bishops and clergy, and the nobles and people of Sicily, Apulia, and Calabria had been urged to be loyal to Frederick and to resist Markwald ; and cardinal legates had been sent both into Sicily to take charge of the young king, and into Apulia to lead the opposition against the rebel.¹

In January (1199) he had written to the council of regency at Palermo to send him some money in view of the expenses which he had already incurred against Markwald ;² for, by the will of the late empress, he was to receive during his wardenship thirty thousand tarins³ every year, and recompense for all monies which he might expend in the defence of the kingdom.⁴ He had, he said, not spared his own treasury, and had had to borrow money in addition, and impressed upon his correspondents that it was in the end more economical to expend money freely at first than to dole out successive small sums.⁵ He also reminded them that they knew not merely by hearsay, but also by experience, of the tyranny, cunning, perjury, avarice, and lust of Markwald.⁶

¹ Fpp. i. 557-564. In ep. 560 he speaks of the large sums of money he is sending to south Italy to pay soldiers ; and in ep. 563 of going himself into Sicily.

² Ep. i. 557, January 25.

³ The gold tarin or tari weighed 20 grains, or the 30th of an ounce. Six tarins went to the florin. In 1324 it was worth two silver carlinos.

⁴ *Gesta*, c. 23. Cf. ep. i. 557.

⁵ "Cum melius sit simul et semel expendere, quam expensas amittere successivas." Ep. i. 557.

⁶ *Ib.*, and 558. In the latter letter, addressed to the people of Capua, he says : "Vix est aliquis in toto regno, qui in se vel suis, persona vel rebus . . . grave non incurrerit per Teutonicos detrimentum ; quod ex majori parte procuratum est per astutiam Marcowaldi." Honorius III. gives a useful outline of Innocent's exertions in the young Frederick's behalf. See his letter to Frederick, c. May 1226, ed. Rodenberg, *M. G. Epp.*, i. p. 218.

The Pope had also written to console the little Frederick for the loss of his father and mother, assuring him that in the Pope he would find another father, and that the Roman Church would be to him as a second mother.¹

Despite all this, Markwald did not despair. He knew there were many points in his favour. Walter of Palear, aiming at ruling Sicily in his own interests,² was jealous of papal interference, and so could be relied upon not to give too hearty a support to Innocent; the Pisans could also be counted on to lend him their co-operation, and the German party in south Italy, headed by Conrad of Marlenheim, the castellan of Sora or Sorella, the fiercest of them all,³ and by Dipold of Vohburg, count of Acerra, was his to a man.

Markwald
strives to
win over
the Pope.

He accordingly made it known to Innocent that, if he would leave him a free hand, he would give him enormous sums of money, would hold the kingdom of Sicily from him, and would greatly enlarge the privileges which the Roman Pontiffs had in it. He further assured the Pope that he need have no scruple in abandoning Frederick, as he was in a position to prove that he was not Henry's son at all.⁴ Finding, however, that Innocent was proof against his promises and his lies, he feigned submission, and, after gaining much time by prolonging negotiations, at length secured his absolution from excommunication.⁵

¹ Ep. i. 565.

² "Non bene intendebatur ei (the papal legate in Sicily) a familiaribus regis, et præsertim a cancellario (Walter), qui dedignabatur eum superiorem habere, cum et omnes non regiis sed propriis utilitatibus insudarent." *Gesta*, c. 23. Cf. c. 31: "Gualterus . . . tanquam rex esset."

³ *Ib.*, c. 39. "Inter omnes Theutonicos . . . infidelissimus exstitit Conradus."

⁴ *Ib.*, c. 23.

⁵ *Gesta*, cc. 23, 24; cf. epp. ii. 167, 168. In the course of the negotiations he had tried to frighten the Pope's legates; but Cardinal Ugolino, afterwards Gregory IX., stood firm, exclaiming: "Here are the orders of the Pontiff. We cannot act against them."

Markwald
in open
rebellion.

No sooner was he absolved, than he sent word in every direction that Innocent had granted him the regency of the kingdom. And when he was reminded that he was false to his oaths, he declared that neither God nor man should make him submit to the Pope's orders,¹ and, leaving Dipold and others to hold south Italy, he crossed over to Sicily towards the close of the year 1199.

But he had to deal with a man as energetic as himself. Innocent at once denounced him as a perjurer, and, in response to an appeal for help from Sicily, sent thither soldiers under his cousin, the marshal James.² He also wrote to the people of Sicily to urge them to resist Markwald, and warned the Saracens still on the island who had sided with Markwald that, if they were not loyal to Frederick, he would turn the arms of the Crusaders against them.³

Double-
dealing of
Walter of
Paelear.

The allied troops of the Pope and the Sicilian regency inflicted a severe defeat on Markwald and his German, Saracen, and Pisan supporters (July 20, 1200).⁴ But the chancellor Walter of Paelear was not to be trusted. He was simply working for his own ends. Despite the exhortations of Innocent to the nobles and people of Sicily to give pecuniary assistance, no money was forth-

¹ *Gesta*, c. 24, and ep. ii. 179.

² *Gesta*, *ib.*, and ep. ii. 200, 221, November 24, 1199, and 245. In this last letter he notes with characteristic energy: "cum tempus agendi sit potius quam loquendi." See also ep. 280, February 3, 1200, in which he speaks of the care and money he has devoted to the interests of Sicily: "Qualiter etiam *nostris sumptibus* non semel sed *sæpe* obviaverimus conatibus iniquorum, etc. . . . Et licet non solum solitudini nostræ sed nec *expensis etiam* hactenus vel in modico sit responsum," etc. He tells its people that he has condemned as dung the inducements which have been held out to him to abandon them to Markwald, and that they must help themselves.

³ Epp. ii. 221, 226.

⁴ Cf. the letter of Anselm, the archbishop of Naples, to Innocent, ap. *Gesta*, c. 26, and *Hist. dip. Fred.*, i. pt. i. p. 46. Innocent alludes to this defeat ep. 15, *R. I. Cf. R. of St. G., Chron.*, 1199.

coming for the troops of the victorious marshal, who was compelled to return to Italy.¹

The situation both in Sicily and on the mainland was now very serious for the Pope and his ward. Walter of Palear was assuming more and more power, and although Innocent would not permit his succeeding to the archbishopric of Palermo,² he acted as though he were the sole regent, in fact as though he were the king of the island.³ Furthermore, despite the prohibition of the Pope, he opened negotiations with Markwald, and came to such an understanding with him that that indefatigable warrior was able to pay a flying visit to the peninsula to concert measures of resistance with his party who were still holding their own in south Italy (c. November 1200).⁴ Indeed, Innocent's biographer assures us that the two agreed to divide the kingdom between them. Walter was to have the island, and Markwald the mainland.⁵

But they were too ambitious to trust one another. Markwald declared everywhere that the chancellor was working to place his brother Gentile on the throne, and Walter proclaimed that Markwald was striving to become king himself.⁶ War was again resumed, and Walter,

¹ *Gesta*, c. 28. The Pope had to pay again. "Multamque pecuniam d. Papa fecit militibus elargiri." Cf. epp. iii. 22-23, November (?) 1200, and a third ap. Kehr, *Das Briefbuch*, p. 39.

² *Gesta*, c. 29.

³ *Gesta*, c. 31. "Gualterus autem, Trojanus episcopus, et regni Siciliæ cancellarius, quasi totum sibi usurpavit inter familiares regios dominatum, ita quod, tanquam rex esset conferebat et auferebat comitatus . . . instituebat justitios, etc. . . . vendebat et expendebat et impignorabat dohanas (the customs)," etc.

⁴ *Ib.*, and c. 32. Cf. ep. iii. 23 to the people of Apulia warning them against giving any support to Markwald, "qui ad oppressionem vestram revertitur citra Pharum."

⁵ *Gesta*, c. 32. "Dividens sibi regnum cum illo (Markwald), et unus in Sicilia, alter in Apulia regis et regni negotia procurarent."

⁶ In this he spoke truly, as Innocent informed the princes of Germany: "Volens seipsum (Markwald) sicut pro certo cognovimus, facere regem." Ep. 15, *R. I.*

leaving the young Frederick in the care of his brother, sailed over to south Italy to raise money, which he did by the most shameless plundering of the churches.¹ He, moreover, never lost an opportunity of denouncing the Pope for calling in Walter of Brienne to oppose Markwald and his adherents.² Innocent retorted by declaring Walter excommunicated, and deposed even from the see of Troya; by writing to the young king Frederick to inspire him with trust in his new ally;³ and by exhorting the great ones of Apulia to annul the chancellor's doings in their districts.⁴

Death of
Markwald,
1202.

The absence of Walter of Palear from the island was fortunate for Markwald. He obtained possession of Palermo, and of the person of the king.⁵ But he was cut off in the midst of his successes, dying in the greatest agony under an operation for stone (*c.* September 1202).⁶ Writing soon after to Frederick's council of regency, Innocent declared that "by a just judgment Markwald had come to an evil end," and exhorted them, now that the great obstacle was removed, to work "for the honour of the Apostolic See, the safety of the king's person, and the good of the whole kingdom."⁷

Walter of
Brienne.

It is time now to retrace our steps, and, crossing over to the mainland, see how Innocent's efforts to preserve his kingdom for the young Frederick fared against Markwald's associates in that quarter.

After Sibyl, the widow of Tancred, and mother of William III., the last Norman king of Sicily, whom the

¹ *Gesta*, c. 32.

² *Gesta*, c. 33.

³ *Ib.*, or *ap. Hist. dip. F.*, i. pt. i. p. 79, July 3, 1201.

⁴ *Ep.* v. 21, April 22, 1202. *Cf.* *ep.* 22.

⁵ Details of this event have been found comparatively recently (1901) in an account addressed by Rainald, archbishop of Capua, to Innocent (November 1201). K. Hampe published the document from the MS. 11867 of the Bibliothèque nationale. *Cf.* Luchaire, i. 183 n.

⁶ *Gesta*, c. 35.

⁷ *Ep.* v. 89, September 24, 1202.

Emperor Henry VI. displaced, escaped with her daughters from her German prison, she gave her eldest daughter in marriage to Walter of Brienne,¹ a noble of Champagne, and the brother of that John of Brienne who became emperor of Constantinople and king of Jerusalem. On the deposition of William III., he had been promised the principality of Tarento and the county of Lecce. But Henry was careful to forget his promise,² and the deposed family were incapable of enforcing their claims. But the times were now changed. The empire was divided, a child was king of Sicily, and the rights of the fallen Norman house were in the keeping of a powerful noble of France. As representative of the claims of his wife, Walter, with a splendid company, appeared before Innocent, and urged his title to the fiefs of Tarento and Lecce (1200).³

Innocent was greatly embarrassed ("cœpit . . . multipliciter dubitare"). To favour Walter seemed to be tantamount to opposing Frederick ; and yet, on the other hand, if he resisted his reasonable demands, he might drive him into the arms of Dipold and Markwald. Accordingly, after most careful consideration and consultation, he resolved to recognise Walter's claims. To avoid, however, the slightest appearance of acting against his ward, he insisted on his swearing, in presence of a very large number of people, that, if his demands were granted, he would in no way seek to diminish the rights of Frederick, but would, on the contrary, oppose his enemies.⁴ More-

Innocent
recognises
Walter's
claims,
1200.

¹ *Gesta*, cc. 22, 25. Cf. E. Georges, *Jean de Brienne*, p. 10 f., Troyes, 1858.

² The young William III. died in captivity.

³ *Gesta*, c. 25. "Postulans humiliter et instanter, justitiam sibi fieri de his quæ ad uxorem ejus in regno Siciliae pertinebat."

⁴ Cf. *Chron. mon. Cist.*, an. 1201. Cf. the letter of Honorius III. already quoted, ed. Rodenberg, *M. G. Epp.*, i. p. 218. "Recepto ad opus tui (Frederick) a Gualtero comite quondam Brenensi fidelitatis publice juramento, ipsum misit in regnum."

over, Innocent assured Frederick's counsellors (*familiares regis*) that the final decision in the matter rested with them, though at the same time he admonished them of the needs of the kingdom, and of the great use that Walter could be to it.¹ It is to be presumed that, although the chancellor, Walter of Troya, opposed Innocent's alliance with his namesake,² the majority of the council of regency approved of his action. At any rate, the Pope resolved to use the Frenchman to break the German power in south Italy, and Walter returned to France to raise troops.

Some modern authors³ believe that the initiative in this matter was taken, not by Brienne, but by Innocent

¹ *Gesta*, c. 25. "Quod si forsan vobis visum fuerit, ut amplius per eundem comitem possimus regi et regno cavere, id per vestras nobis litteris intimetis." Cf. c. 33.

² *Ib.*, c. 23.

³ Luchaire, i. 177 f., is one of these. He relies on Richard of San Germano and Bernard the treasurer. The former, an. 1201, says that Innocent sent Walter against the kingdom of Sicily through hatred of the Germans ("Gualterius . . . in odium Teutonicorum in regnum mittitur ab Inn."). That is not denied, but it does not prove that it was not Walter who first came to the Pope. There is no question that Innocent afterwards used Walter. Bernard's words are more to the point, but they show that he did not know the facts of the case, as he represents Walter's wife as coming from Apulia instead of as escaping from a German prison. We cite his quaint old French: "Une demoisele avoit en Puille, qui fille avoit esté le roi Tancred, qui par le conseil de l'apostole (Innocent) et d'aucun prodome (wise men), ala en Champaigne au conte Gautier de Brene, et fist tant qu'il l'espousa. Quant espousée l'ont, elle le mena en Puille, et alerent par Rome. L'apostole, parce que par son et par son los (laus, encouragement) avoit cele dame espousée, li dona du sien, et il li chargea gens, et li commanda qu'il entrast en la terre de la Puille." Contin. of William of Tyre, *Hist.*, xxiv. c. 30, ap. *P. L.*, t. 201. During the thirteenth century several continuations of William of Tyre were written in French. Of these the most important, because the work of an eye-witness, was due to Ernoul. Later on Bernard the treasurer of Corbie appears to have used this work and brought it down to 1231. Another addition brought the continuation down to the year 1274. It is, then, almost impossible to say to whom we are indebted for the story of the marriage of Walter.

himself. The narrative, however, of the Pope's biographer is consistent as well with itself as with the known character of Walter. Such a soldier was not likely to remain idle when he had a right to a principality.¹

Walter soon returned from France with a body of bold cavaliers,² and at Innocent's behest, and with his gold and letters, at once proceeded against Dipold, whom he defeated at Capua and again at Cannæ (June and October).³ The latter battle quite broke for the time being the German power in south Italy. But Innocent's satisfaction was soon spoilt by the news of the success of Markwald in Sicily, of his capture of Palermo and the young king (October 1201).⁴ It was clearly necessary to act vigorously in Sicily or all would be lost, and so he began to urge the victorious Walter of Brienne to sail to Sicily against Markwald.⁵

Successes
of Walter
of Brienne,
1201.

But the armed master of the island was also a master of diplomacy, and he tried every means to induce the count, whom he feared, to abandon his enterprise, and to leave the kingdom.⁶ But although he had no intention of retiring from the kingdom altogether, Walter was not anxious to risk the hold he had on south Italy, and showed himself very slow to entertain the idea of the invasion of Sicily itself. The Pope, however, continued to urge him by threats and by promises to set out against Markwald. In the first half of September (1202), letter

¹ Cf. ep. v. 38. "Cum autem . . . Walterus . . . ad nostram præsentiam accessisset," etc., says Innocent himself to the people of the kingdom of Sicily. See also Robert of Auxerre, *Chron.*, an. 1201, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxvi. p. 260.

² *Chron. ign. mon. Cist.*, an. 1201. "Gualterius . . . veniens de Burgunia per licentiam apostolici . . . intrans regnum," etc.

³ "Gualt. mittitur in Regnum a D. P. Innocentio." *Chron. Cas.*, an. 1201, ap. *R. I. SS.*, v. Cf. *Ann. Ceccan.*, 1199, ap. *ib.*, vii. p. 884; *Ric. of St. G.*, an. 1201; *Gesta*, c. 30; ep. v. 38.

⁴ Cf. *supra*, p. 146.

⁶ Epp. v. 38, 39, an. 1202.

⁶ *Gesta*, c. 35.

after letter reached the count from the Pope. Innocent had hitherto, so he said, accepted his excuses, but he must now sail for Sicily without offering any more of them.¹ To encourage him to start, the Pope not merely wrote to his own relatives urging them to assist the count, but offered to raise a large sum of money for him in any way he should find most convenient. He would even borrow money for him at usurious interest (*sub usuris*), or raise it by selling even at a loss the revenues due to his treasury from Apulia or the Terra di Lavoro.²

William of
Capparone.

It was at this juncture that news reached the Pope of the death of Markwald. Not without reason was he then full of hope that the days of storm and stress were over, when he heard that a new foe had arisen in Sicily. William of Capparone had seized Palermo and the young king, and had styled himself guardian of the king and captain-general of Sicily.³ Although in many ways confusion now became worse confounded in the island, the position of the young king was not so perilous. Though factions multiplied, and disorders more or less serious consequently increased, no other Markwald arose capable of depriving Frederick of his kingdom altogether.

On the mainland the position of the Pope as supreme guardian of the kingdom steadily improved. He was able to inform the archbishop of Cologne before the end of this eventful year (November 20, 1202)⁴ that Conrad of Urslingen, who had returned to Italy to take the

¹ Ep. v. 84, September 14, 1202.

² *Ib.* "Ad subventionem expensarum in tua ponimus optione, an velis omnes proventus cameriatum totius Apuliæ ac Terræ Laboris præsentialiter vendi pro pretio etiam minori quam valeant, et pretium ipsum accipias universum, an malis ipsos proventus mercatoribus obligari pro pecunia mutuanda, etiam sub usuris, vel magis acceptes quod magistri camerarii de ipsis proventibus tibi . . . respondeant in integrum." Cf. epp. 85, 86.

³ *Gesta*, c. 36.

⁴ Ep. 80, *R.I.*

place of Markwald, was dead, as was also Otto of Barenste, the murderer of the bishop of Liège, and that he was now for the most part free from anxiety as far as the kingdom of the two Sicilies was concerned.¹ Next Walter of Palear, who before the battle of Cannæ had declared that he would rather go to hell than not oppose his namesake of Brienne,² now sought and obtained Innocent's forgiveness, and returned to Sicily to resist Capparone (1203).³

Unfortunately, Innocent was taken so ill this year at Anagni that a report of his death was freely circulated, and many cities in consequence threw off the allegiance of Walter of Brienne.⁴ On the Pope's recovery, James the marshal and Walter of Brienne, whom he had named "Masters and Justiciaries of Apulia and Terra di Lavoro," set themselves to subdue the revolted cities,⁵ and the Pope wrote to exhort them to return to their allegiance.⁶

So successful was Walter against the Germans that, with true Gallic brag, he boasted that even when armed they were afraid of unarmed Frenchmen.⁷ With the stupidity bred of arrogance, he neglected the ordinary military precautions, was surprised by Dipold, and died of the wounds he then received (June 1205).⁸ He left a son who bore his own name, and was destined to be an object of jealousy to Frederick II., as he was the grandson of Tancred, king of Sicily. The death of his champion

Innocent
very ill,
Sept.-Oct.
1203.

Death of
Walter of
Brienne,
and sub-
mission of
Dipold.

¹ "Unde cum in eorum discessu pars ipsorum sit pene penitus annullata, pro parte majori a sollicitudinibus regni Siciliæ liberati, super negotii imperii plenius intendemus." *Ib.*

² *Gesta*, c. 34.

³ *Ib.*, c. 36. Cf. ep. vi. 71, May ?, 1203.

⁴ *Ib.*, cc. 37, 137.

⁵ *Ib.*, cc. 37-8.

⁶ vi. 191-2, October 1203.

⁷ "Arroganter respondit, quod Theutonici armati non auderent aggredi Francos inermes." *Gesta*, c. 38.

⁸ *Ib.* Cf. *Chron. mon. Cist.*; Ric. of St. G.; and *Chron. Cas.*, an. 1205.

might have proved very disastrous to Innocent had not Dipold thought fit to make his submission to him (1206).¹

The affairs
of Sicily.

In the following year that warrior sailed for Sicily to strive with Capparone for the control of the young king.² His departure, and the subsequent displacement from his stronghold by force and by gold of Conrad of Sora or Sorella in favour of Innocent's brother Richard,³ gave peace to south Italy (February 1208). Arrived in Sicily, Dipold leagued himself with the papal legate and with the chancellor Walter against Capparone. This combination proved too strong for Capparone, and the guardianship of Frederick was wrested from him. Walter and Dipold, however, distrusted each other. The latter was seized and imprisoned, but contrived to escape to Italy,⁴ where he again later turned against the Pope in favour of Otho IV. Unfortunately, however, the dissensions between Walter and Capparone still kept the unhappy country in a state of turmoil, and the Saracens, taking advantage of the situation, broke out into rebellion, and seized a fortress.⁵

Progress of
Innocent
through
south Italy.
The diet
of San
Germano,
1208.

It seemed, however, to Innocent that the time had now come when he might definitely pacify the two Sicilies. Knowing how much his presence in the duchy of Spoleto (1198) and in the Patrimony (1207) had helped towards the peace of those territories, he proceeded in the May of this year (1208) from Anagni to San Germano in the kingdom of Sicily. Particulars of his journey are furnished

¹ *Gesta*, c. 38; *Chron. Cas., l.c.*; Ric. of St. G., an. 1206.

² Ric. of St. G., 1207.

³ *Gesta*, c. 39. "Dominus Richardus . . . factus est comes Soræ et exaltatus et buccina vociferatus per protonotarium a d. Frederico rege Siciliæ pro hoc delegatum." *Ann. Ceccan.*, an. 1208. Cf. *Chron. Cas.*, an. 1208.

⁴ *Gesta*, c. 38; Ric. of St. G., *l.c.*; and *Chron. mon. Cist.*, an. 1206. "Gualterus de Paulla . . . diripit Fredericum duodennem puerum de potestate Teutonicorum."

⁵ *Gesta*, c. 40.

us by the *Annales* of Ceccano.¹ Outside Anagni the Pope found John of Ceccano with fifty picked and splendidly accoutred soldiers ready to escort him for some distance, and to amuse him by a display of their skill in arms. At Castrogiuliano he was received by Albert, bishop of Ferentino, and by the clergy "of all the territory of John of Ceccano," singing the antiphon *Tua est potentia*. "After they had received the apostolic blessing," the clergy were entertained to a splendid banquet, at which, besides the ordinary viands of veal, pork, birds, etc., they were treated to "pepper, cinnamon, and saffron." Then for several hours John and his soldiers entertained the Pope and the assembled multitude to military sports (June 16).² It was when Innocent reached the famous monastery of Fossa Nova that his brother Richard was solemnly proclaimed count of Sora.³

Arrived at San Germano, he there held, towards the close of June, a great diet "of the counts, barons, and *rectors* of the cities of the kingdom," and caused them to promise on oath to stand by his regulations for the peace of the kingdom, and for the assistance of the young Frederick. Two hundred soldiers were to be despatched at once to the help of the king,⁴ and all the faithful subjects of the kingdom in Apulia were exhorted to assist in carrying out the measures which the Pope assured them had in the making caused him largely to put to one side the affairs of the rest of the world.⁵ And

¹ *Ap. R. I. SS.*, vii. p. 887, where they are known as *Chron. Fossæ Novæ*.

² *Ib.* "Cum suis militibus d. Joannis de Ceccano in præsentia d. Papæ jocavit buburando."

³ *Ib.*

⁴ *Chron. mon. Cist.*, an. 1208. Cf. *Ric. of St. G.*, an. 1208; *Gesta*, c. 40.

⁵ *Gesta.*, *ib.* "In regnum personaliter descendimus, ceteris mundi negotiis ex magna parte postpositis, propter hoc unum ut in ipso videlicet pacem et justitiam reformemus." Cf. *ep.* xi. 133.

all this he did though, as his biographer assures us, "the time of his wardenship had now expired."

Interven-
tion of
Innocent
in the isle
of Sicily.

The further intervention of the Pope in Frederick's behalf was urgently called for. Of what he had already done for his ward, Innocent reminded him in eloquent language: "In defending your interests oft have we passed sleepless nights; and in devising measures for the peace of your realm it has oft been supper-time when we have taken our dinner. How often have the crowds of our messengers met each other when going to and returning from different parts of the world with the letters we have written in your behalf! How often have the documents we have issued concerning the tranquillity of your kingdom wearied the pens of our notaries, and dried the ink-wells of our scribes! How often have men coming from all parts of the world had to grieve that their business was delayed because we were wrapped up in your affairs! What shall we say of the immense expense in which the many needs of your kingdom have involved us? Nor have we spared our brethren and our kinsmen, whose toil though great was, we rejoice to say, not always without fruit."¹

Unceasingly, indeed, had Innocent worked in Frederick's interests against Walter of Palear, and against Markwald, supported as he had been by Philip of Suabia,² by Saracens, by pirates, and by the Pisans. He had striven to save his treasury,³ and had put pressure in his behalf on the monks of the famous monastery of Monreale, who were supporting his captor William of Capparone, and giving his wife the very plate and vestments of the Church.⁴

¹ Ep. ix. 249, February 28, 1207.

² Cf. ep. ii. 221 and epp. 15 and 47, *R. I.*

³ *Gesta*, c. 31.

⁴ Ep. vi. 93. "Datis uxori suæ magnis cupis argenteis et dalmatica de hulla (?), valente plus quam mille tarenos."

He rejoiced with him over his liberation by Dipold,¹ but saw that complete peace was not yet assured.² Hence to strengthen the young king's position he hurried on a marriage which he had negotiated long before, and, as we have seen, arranged at the diet of San Germano that help should be sent to him from the mainland. As early as 1202 Innocent had decided that the wife for his ward was Constance, the sister of the promising sovereign Pedro II. of Aragon, and widow of Emeric, king of Hungary; for Pedro had promised to send armed assistance for the young king.³ Though the two were solemnly affianced in the same year,⁴ several years elapsed before Innocent's diplomacy was able to bring about the actual marriage.⁵ It was not till the year 1209 that Constance, escorted by a splendid company of nobles from Provence and Catalonia, reached Sicily, and was married to Frederick.⁶

The assembly of San Germano and the Aragonese marriage may be said to mark the establishment of peace in the two sections of Frederick's Sicilian kingdom. But Innocent's care of his ward did not finish in the year 1209. As will be seen when the affairs of the Empire are treated, he intervened to save his kingdom from the

Frederick
marries
Constance
of Aragon.

Innocent
strives to
protect the
kingdom
of Sicily
against
Otho.

¹ Epp. ix. 249-51. Epp. 250 and 251 are not given in Migne, but must be sought in Pitra, *De epp. Rom. Pont.*, p. 522 ff.

² Ep. ix. 249. "Nobis non restat aliud quam gaudendum, quia, quamvis ad plenitudinem tuæ pacis deesse aliquid videatur, speramus tamen, quod, si tuum in Domino jactaveris cogitatum, et eorum . . . consiliis acquireris, qui te . . . in . . . obsequium receperunt, ille, per quem reges regnant . . . tuam solium confirmabit."

³ Ep. v. 51.

⁴ Ep. 80, *R. I.*

⁵ Cf. epp. III, *R. I.*; ix. 250, ap. Pitra, *l.c.*, p. 523; xi. 4, where Innocent extols the birth, etc., of Frederick; xi. 134.

⁶ *Chron. mon. Cist.* and Ric. of St. G., an. 1209. Cf. other authorities cited by H.-B., *Hist. Dip.*, i. pt. i. pp. 145-6, who notes that the marriage probably took place in May. With the nobles came 500 cavaliers to support Frederick. Cf. Bernard the treasurer, *Hist. belli sacri*, xxiv. cc. 58-9.

ambitious grasp of Otho IV., and encouraged him to fight for the Empire. Fortunately for him, he did not live long enough to taste of his pupil's ingratitude, though he had on one or two occasions to rebuke him. In the very year of his marriage, for instance, he had to blame him very strongly for interference in an episcopal election;¹ and in the following year for dismissing from his court Walter of Troya, then bishop of Catania.²

Education
of Fred-
erick.

In the midst of all his political anxieties for his young charge Innocent did not forget his education. As long as lasted the hard tutelage of Markwald, and of the others who used the child-king for their own ends, the Pope could do little for either his moral or intellectual training. Still he did not lose sight of his education, received reports about it, and expressed his pleasure when he heard "that he was from day to day increasing in wisdom and in virtue as well as in age."³ His legates were instructed to see to his good as well as to that of the kingdom; nor did he fail in beautiful language to urge Frederick to follow their instructions, whilst he himself oft showed the youth the path in which he should tread. "As the farmer rejoices," he wrote, "when his land is white to harvest . . . so are we even more glad in the bowels of the mercy of Christ when we hear that you, brought up in the bosom of the Apostolic See, have now almost reached the years of puberty,—you whom almost from infancy till now we have had such difficulty in guarding. And since you are said so to have clung to the breast of the Apostolic See—which like a most tender nurse has hitherto suckled your infancy—that,

¹ Ep. xi. 208.

² "Que (Constance) malo consilio ducta una cum viro eundem cancellarium qui jam factus fuerat episcopus Cathaniensis, a curia eorum excluserunt." *Chron. Breve*, ap. H.-B., *l.c.*, pt. ii. p. 893. Cf. ep. xiii. 83.

³ Ep. vii. 129, October 1204.

by the power of the most High, anticipating maturer years by your virtues, you are advancing before God and man in prudence and age, we pray Him by whom kings reign to multiply in you the gifts of His grace . . . by which to the honour of His holy name you may soon be able to rule your kingdom . . . and we may be able to rest from our great anxiety. . . . We therefore earnestly bid and exhort you to turn your thoughts to God, . . . and to beg Him to grant you strength to rule your kingdom and yourself."¹ In like manner did he urge upon the young King's councillors (*familiaribus regis*) the need of training him in the ways of the Lord.²

Details, however, of his education are wanting. "We know only," says Huillard-Bréholles, "that he had for governors Nicholas, archbishop of Taranto, and the notary John of Tragetto. He himself, in two letters in which he recommends them to Pope Honorius, speaks of them as those to whom he owed his upbringing (*nutricii nostri*). This would seem to imply that they had directed his education under the eyes of the cardinal legates, and consequently more in accordance with Christian ideals than is commonly supposed."³

However this may be, it is certain that Frederick regarded Innocent as the great friend of his youth, and spoke of him as his "protector and benefactor . . . by whose kindness, zeal, and guardianship I was brought up, protected and destined for great things."⁴

¹ Ep. ix. 157, given in full in Pitra, *l.c.*, p. 518. Cf. *ib.*, 249, February 28, 1207.

² "Ipse vero per vos in justificationibus Domini eruditus, sedulitate vestra teneritatem suam in bonum jugiter informari lætetur." ix. 250, ap. *ib.* Cf. ix. 251, *ib.*

³ *Hist. Dip.*, Introduc., p. clxxx.

⁴ *Ib.*, i. pt. i. p. 269. Ep. of July 1213 to Innocent.

BOOK II.

INNOCENT AND THE EMPIRE.

Sources.—In addition to the chronicles already cited, attention may be called to the contemporary Austrian chronicles in *M. G. SS.*, ix., e.g., the *Annales Admontenses*, and the *Annales Salisburgenses Sancti Rudberti*; to the work of Conrad de Fabaria, the best of the historians of the monastery of St. Gall (*Casus S. Galli*), ap. *M. G. SS.*, ii.; to the monk Reiner's valuable continuation of the *Annales* of Lambertus Parvus († 1194), ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi.; and to the *Chronicon Montis Sereni* (now Petersberg, near Halam in Saxony), 1124–1125, which is attributed to the Premonstratensian monk Conrad of Lauterberg or Montis Sereni, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxiii.

The brief chronicle assigned to Nicholas of Jamsilla, ap. *R. I. SS.*, viii. p. 493 ff., furnishes us with a Ghibelline outline of Frederick II., that "lamb among wolves," as he describes him when in the power of Markwald, Dipold, and the other controllers of his early years. As a matter of fact, "Nicholas of J." was only the name of a former possessor of the MS. which gives us a brief account of Frederick II., Conrad IV., and Manfred (1210–1258), with a continuation to 1265. It may have been written by Goffredo of Cosenza, a friend of Manfred. Gervasius Ricobaldus, generally known as Ricobaldi of Ferrara (who tells us that in 1243 he was present at Padua when a man born a deaf mute gained the use of his speech and hearing when he was praying at the tomb of St. Anthony),¹ wrote a universal chronicle extending to the end of

¹ *Hist. imp.*, p. 127. "Ego Ricobaldus Ferrariensis an. Christi 1243. Paduæ aderam vespere solemnitatis quando vir natus mutus, ut omnium civium erat assertio, dum orasset vespere sub illius sepulchro, loquelam et auditum recepit, quem vidi et audiui loquentem." He adds the very interesting and convincing remark that the man knew not the meaning of what he said (*nesciebat loqui*), but simply repeated what he heard.

the thirteenth century. His chronicle took the form of *Historia imperatorum*, and *Hist. pont. Romanor.*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, ix. He is now also believed to be the author of the *Chron. parva Ferrar.*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, viii. p. 469 ff.¹ His work is only of use when it recounts events which occurred during the lifetime of its author.

Very interesting is the *Disputatio (Carmen) inter Romam et Papam de Ottonis IV. destitutione*, ap. Leibnitz, *SS. Rer. Brunsvic.*, ii. p. 525 ff. In this poem a contemporary Roman, or at any rate an Italian, pleads the cause of Otho IV. against "the boy from Apulia—puer Apulus" (Frederick II.).

Works.—Luchaire, *Innocent III., La Papauté et l'empire* (vol. iii.), Paris, 1906.

¹ Cf. *Archiv. Muratoriano*, No. 10, p. 551 ff.



Seal of Frederick II., A.D. 1224.

CHAPTER I.

THE IMPERIAL SCHISM TO THE DEATH OF PHILIP OF SUABIA (1208).

The double
election.

WHEN the news of the premature death of Henry VI. (September 1197) reached Germany, the minds of thoughtful men were filled with dread. Nor were their fears vain. The evil which they foresaw came upon them, and for over ten years Germany was lacerated with civil war. Henry's death was "to the Teutonic race and to all the peoples of Germany a cause of eternal regret."¹

But "to all the peoples" of Italy his demise was a cause of deep joy. It was followed immediately by risings against his lieutenants, and so it was with the greatest difficulty that his brother, Philip of Suabia, made his way back in safety to Germany. He had been summoned into Italy by Henry to escort the young Frederick to Germany, in order that, as the princes had elected him king, he might be solemnly anointed by the archbishop of Cologne.² But on Henry's death Philip thought only of returning to Germany as soon as possible.³ There the

¹ Otto of St. Blaise, c. 45.

² *Ib.*, cc. 44 and 45. "A principibus in regem electus (the child Frederick) a Coloniensi episcopo inungeretur, ut moris est."

³ The attitude towards Frederick of Philip on the one hand and of the Church on the other is well outlined in the famous letter of rebuke which Honorius III. addressed to Frederick, c. May 1226. "Et licet Philippus nomen tuum (Frederick's) primo pretenderit, ad se postea convertit negotium, sic illud succedentibus prosperis suis utilitatibus applicans, quod non jam de jure dubitabat imperii, sed spem ad occupationem regni Sicilie prorogabat." Ed. Rodenberg, *M. G. Epp.*, i. p. 218.

princes, both those who had the good of the Empire at heart (if such there were) and those who had no other concern but their own interests, were agreed at least on one point. Though they had all taken the oath of allegiance to Frederick, they all averred that it was out of the question that a child should be emperor.¹ The disinterested knew that the rule of a child-king was ruin to the state, the interested realised that their time had come. A few of the more powerful had hopes that the Empire might fall to them—"The coronets are grown too vain," sings der Vogelweide,—and the rest were determined to wring gold or privileges from the imperial candidates.²

The chief candidates were Berthold, duke of Zähringen, the Guelf Otho of Brunswick, the son of Henry the Lion, and the Ghibelline Philip of Suabia, who, it is said, at first did all he could to secure the confirmation of the election of the young Frederick.³ If he ever had really at heart the cause of his nephew, he must have been soon convinced that it was hopeless. Even the least selfish of the princes were glad of the opportunity of opposing the hereditary principle which Henry had succeeded in forcing upon them.⁴

¹ Henry brought it about "ut filium suum Federicum, infantem . . . necdum etiam baptizatum in regem Romanorum (principes) eligerent, eique fidelitatis iuramenta præstarent; inter quos . . . Philipus." *Gesta*, c. 19. Cf. Philip's letter to the Pope excusing himself for standing for the Empire to the exclusion of his nephew. Ep. 136, *R. I.* One point urged by the Princes to prove that their oaths of allegiance to the infant Frederick were of no value was that he was not yet baptized. Christianity was the bedrock of the Empire.

² The contemporary author of the *Gesta episcop. Halberstadensium*, p. 113, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxiii. "Quidam principes avaritie dediti huic sacre electioni execrabiles interponere non sunt veriti condiciones. Alii vero, ut tyrannidi sue impune liberius possent vacare, hanc electionem conati sunt impedire."

³ Otto, c. 46, and the letter just cited.

⁴ Ep. 136, *R. I.*

Berthold, Otho, and Philip now began to pour out money like water. Berthold soon retired from the contest, but Otho and Philip were resolved to go to extremes. The former was substantially supported by Richard of England, and the latter was the possessor of the treasure which his brother had extorted from his Sicilian kingdom.

Coronation
of Otho
and of
Philip,
1198.

Seeing that his opponent was winning the support of the majority of the princes, Otho precipitated matters. Although his election (June 9, 1198) took place after that of Philip (May 8), he had himself crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle by Adolf of Altena, the archbishop of Cologne, who had been the last of the great princes to submit to Henry's scheme to make the Empire hereditary. His coronation then (July 12) was anterior to that of Philip (September 8), and was more legal in form, as he was enthroned in the proper place,¹ and by the proper person. But Philip was in possession of the imperial regalia, and had the support of much the greater number of the important princes. He was, however, only crowned by the archbishop of Tarentaise, and the sole bishop present at his coronation who ventured to wear his pontifical robes was the bishop of Sutri. As the latter was then representing the Pope, who had sent him to Philip to negotiate the release of the Sicilian prisoners,² Innocent promptly degraded him on his return for having thus ventured to commit his master to one party, and for not having strictly fulfilled the Pope's instructions regarding the absolution of Philip.³

¹ William the Breton says (c. 209) that it was an almost invariable rule that he only was crowned emperor by the Pope who had been previously crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle: "Et hoc propter reverentiam et majestatem Caroli Magni cujus corpus requiescit ibidem."

² *Supra*, p. 140.

³ *Cf. supra*, p. 140. On the double election, etc., *cf. Gesta*, c. 22; Conrad of Fabaria, *Casus S. Galli*, c. 7; Otho, c. 46; Honorii *Chron. contin. Weingartensis*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxi. p. 480. This author pretends

The rival kings were both under twenty-five years of age. One of them, Otho, is said to have been tall, "very handsome in appearance, generous in disposition, skilled in arms, but not too truthful, nor moderate in prosperity."¹ Philip, on the other hand, though also possessing good features, was rather small and frail of body. But his panegyrists Burchard and Conrad add that he was gentle and affable, prudent and generous, a man of literary tastes and fond of taking part in the services of the Church;² while certain Greeks declared that he was actually a cleric.

The two rivals.

The double election, says the same Burchard, caused "all the ills of earth to be multiplied."³ Treachery, robbery, devastation of property, and fighting became so general "that no one could safely go from one house to another."⁴ "Violence," moaned Walter, the Minnesinger, "is supreme on the highroads; peace and justice are sick unto death."⁵ Especial sufferers were the defenceless clergy and their churches; and later on, when Innocent

Evil results of the imperial schism.

that Otho was crowned "quodam cardinali," as well as by Adolf. *Ann. Stadenses*, an. 1198, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi.; *Ann. Admontenses*, 1198. These annals note that Philip not only expended Henry's treasure, but gave away imperial possessions, "quos (his supporters) etiam de possessionibus imperii inbeneficiavit." Burchard, *Urspergens. Chron.*, p. 70 ff.; Inn., ep. 1, *R. I.*; Arnold, *Chron. Slav.*, vi. 1 ff.

¹ Thos. of Tuscany, *Gesta imp. et pont.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxii. p. 509. Our own historian, Ralph Coggeshall, calls him "miræ strenuitatis et elegantis corporis adolescentem," and dwells on the amount of money Richard I. expended in his nephew's behalf on the "princes of the Empire." *Chron. Anglic.*, p. 88. R.S. Even his enemy Burchard, who calls him a proud fool, says he was tall and strong; an. 1198, p. 76. Innocent calls him (epp. 33, 34, *R. I.*) "careful, prudent, and brave." In ep. 57, *R. I.*, he finds it necessary to urge him to regulate his bravery.

² *Chron.*, p. 85, ed. *in usum schol.* Cf. *Ann. Pegavenses*, an. 1198, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. p. 208, which praise Philip's military skill, and add: "Præcipuis et optimis comparandus"; *Chron. reg. Colon.*, cont. II., an. 1207, p. 183, ed. Waitz, and Arnold, *Chron. Slav.*, vii. 12.

³ Ep. Inn., v. 122.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 75. Inn., ep. 2, *R. I.*

⁵ Ap. Lange, *Walther v. der V.*, p. 84.

declared in favour of Otho, and showed favour to the bishops who supported him and enmity to those who opposed him, many bishops, says the annalist Gerlac, abbot of Mülhausen, "fell between the two kings as between two stools."¹

Innocent's
attitude
towards it,
and his
ideas on
the relation
between
the Papacy
and the
Empire.

Innocent was now master of the situation ; and he took care to inform "all the princes of Germany, both ecclesiastical and secular," that, in the first place, it was allowed that the ultimate authoritative settlement of the difficulty appertained to him.² He then blamed them, both for their original act in electing two kings, and for not having attempted to remedy the mischief which they had caused by prompt recourse to him.³ At the same time, as well to them as to others, he explained his views on the *regnum* and the *sacerdotium* (the Empire and the Papacy), his belief that loss to the Empire meant evil to the Church, and his earnest wish to act for the best interests of the Empire.

The Empire, he said, was transferred from the Greeks by the Roman Church for its own defence ;⁴ and so he

¹ *Annal.*, an. 1198, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvii. p. 709.

² Ep. 2, *R. I.* He speaks of us "ad quos ipsum negotium *principaliter* et *finaliter* noscitur pertinere." Cf. *ib.*, ep. 31, where he adds : "principaliter quidem quia per Romanam ecclesiam fuit a Græcia pro ipsius specialiter defensione translatus ; finaliter autem, quoniam etsi ab alio regni coronam recipiat, a nobis tamen coronam imperii recipit imperator." Also *ib.*, epp. 18, 30. Hence Bartolus, "the prince of jurists" (+1357), in his *Commentary on the Constitution "Ad Reprimendum"* of Henry VII., could speak of the "Papa, in quo *principaliter* est Imperium," ap. C. N. Woolf, *Bartolus of Sassoferato*, p. 88, Cambridge, 1913. On this same Bartolus and his political ideas see an essay by J. N. Figgis in his *The Divine Right of Kings*, p. 343 ff., Cambridge, 1914.

³ Ep. 2, *R. I.*, May 3, 1199. The father of discord "tantam inter vos discordiam seminavit, ut duos vobis in reges presumpseritis nominare, quibus inter vos ipsos divisi pertinaciter adhæretis, non attendentes quot et quanta discrimina per hoc . . . proveniant populo Christiano."

⁴ Ep. 31, see note above.

himself, far from "giving his mind, as certain pestilent fellows contended, to the destruction of the Empire, was rather anxious to provide for its preservation."¹ As "the pestilent fellows" continued to assert that the Pope's aim was the degradation of the Empire, Innocent ceased not to proclaim that his one object was its exaltation.² The Empire and the Papacy, he urged, are the two great powers in the world, and ought to be in harmony. "They are the two cherubim who are described as facing each other with wings conjoined over the mercy-seat. They are the two wonderfully beautiful columns placed near the door in the vestibule of the temple. . . . They are the two great lights which God set in the firmament of heaven, the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser one to rule the night. And they are the two swords of which the Apostles spoke when they said, 'Behold, here are two swords' (St. Luke xxii. 38)."³

"The rule of the world," he said to Otho after he had been recognised as the sole imperial candidate, "has been

¹ Epp. 2. Innocent declared he was greatly grieved at the schism and its consequences, "quia non, ut quidam pestilentes homines mentiuntur, ad imperii destructionem vel depressionem intendimus, sed ad conservationem et exaltationem ipsius potius asperamus." Cf. ep. 1.

² Epp. 15, *R. I.*, to the princes of Germany; epp. 21 and 31, *R. I.*, to the same.

³ Ep. 2, *R. I.* Cf. i. 401, where he declares the intrinsic superiority of the Papacy to the Empire inasmuch as its realm is that of the spirit, and because, from certain points of view, the Empire is dependent on the Papacy, as it receives its imperial dignity from it. "Sic (viz., as the moon gets its light from the sun) regalis potestas ab auctoritate pontificali suæ sortitur dignitatis splendorem." See also the contemporary *Dialogus clerici et laici*, where the lay disputant concedes that in the one Catholic people, in "the universal City of God," there were two powers, two swords ("duplicem esse justitiam"), the spiritual and the temporal. "Absurdum esset si hoc negarem, ex quo fidem profiter catholicam," says the layman, and "sciam . . . quod . . . duo illi gladii mistici utramque hanc justiciam prefiguraverunt." P. 316, ed. Waitz, *Chron. reg. Colon.*, in usum schol.

entrusted chiefly to us two";¹ and, as "the imperial crown has to be granted by the Roman Pontiff," it behoves him to strive for the greater glory of the Empire.² It was vain for anyone to pretend that the Papacy was anxious to destroy the Empire. The Church, he declared, cannot be without an emperor, and has no wish to be without one;³ for, just as when the moon is eclipsed, darkness becomes darker still—so, through the want of an emperor, the wild violence of heretics and pagans cruelly increases to the great detriment of the faithful.⁴ He could write without exaggeration: "When we heard that the votes of the princes regarding the election of an emperor were divided, we were so much the more troubled that, for the reasons just assigned,⁵ the good estate of the Empire particularly concerns us, and because for the many great needs of the Christian people, not only does the Church desire to have a devoted defender, but the whole Empire is known to stand in need of a suitable guardian (*provisor*)."⁶

In another letter to the princes of the Empire Innocent depicts with eloquent force the burning need of Christendom for a united Empire. "The evils of the hour show what loss is resulting from the division of the Empire, not only

¹ Ep. 178, *R. I.*, January 18, 1209.

² Ep. 15, *R. I.*, to the princes of Germany: "Curabimus diligenter efficere quæ ad divini nominis gloriam, apostolicæ sedis honorem, imperialis excellentiæ magnitudinem," etc. Cf. the closing words of ep. 18, *R. I.*, to the envoys of Philip.

³ Ep. 29, *R. I.*, the famous *deliberatio* of Innocent on the three candidates for the Empire: "Cum . . . nec possit aut velit Ecclesia imperatore carere," etc. Cf. ep. 30, *R. I.*

⁴ Ep. 33, *R. I.*, to Otho.

⁵ They are the two already given, viz., the translation of the Empire from the East to the West, and the fact of the emperor having to receive his crown from the Pope.

⁶ Ep. 30, *R. I.* Cf. *ib.*, ep. 87, where he states shortly that the two things which distress him most are the division of the Empire and the necessities of the Holy Land.

to us and to you, but to the whole Christian people. Heretics are prevailing against Catholics ; the boundaries of the Christian faith are contracting, and the pagans are boasting in the ears of the faithful about the capture of the land of the Saviour's birth. Peace and justice, which once were embracing each other, now mourn their mutual separation ; while violence and sedition have joined hands and cry aloud that they have taken their place. The violent have laid their sacrilegious hands on the goods of the churches, the powerful have planted their feet on the necks of the weak, and the scanty purses of the poor are made to engender in the coffers of the rich a needy abundance or an abundant neediness . . . so that there is now fulfilled to the letter the saying that 'from him that hath not, that also which he seemeth to have shall be taken away' (St. Matt. xxv. 29). To sum up all in a few words, injustice has usurped the place of right, and will, not reason, makes the laws, so that some imagine that they may do that which pleases them." As the princes have failed to take steps to remedy these evils, it is for the Pope to do so, seeing that he has at heart "the exaltation, not the depression of the Empire," and has no wish by his silence to seem to foment the discord.¹

Now that at some length and in his own words the ideas of Innocent concerning the Papacy and the Empire have been stated, the narrative of the chief events of the imperial schism may be resumed. As it was clear both to Otho and to Philip that the last word on their respective claims would rest with Innocent, both candidates turned to him almost immediately, and each boasted that he had received the Pope's support.² To gain his

Otho
appeals to
the Pope
for the im-
perial
crown,
1198.

¹ Ep. 31, *R. I.* With this fine letter *cf. ib.*, ep. 181, where he again declares that it is his duty to work for the peace of the Empire.

² Ep. 1, *R. I.* Innocent declared that he had hitherto remained neutral: "In neutram partem volumus declinare, licet uterque de

favour Otho had, on the very day of his election, sworn to preserve the rights of the Roman Church and the other churches, to restore what the emperors had unjustly taken from the churches or the princes, and to give up the evil custom of annexing the property of deceased ecclesiastical princes.¹ Writing himself to the Pope, Otho pointed out what his father Henry the Lion had suffered in the cause of the Church. He declared that he would preserve intact the possessions and rights of the Roman Church and all the churches, and that he would renounce the *jus spolii*;² and he begged Innocent, mindful on the one hand of the devotion of his father and of his uncle, King Richard of England, to the Roman Church, and mindful on the other hand of the evils inflicted on it by Philip himself and by his father and brother, to summon him to receive the imperial consecration, to make known the excommunication of Philip throughout the whole Empire, and to compel all the princes, ecclesiastical and civil, to render him due obedience.³

Richard of England and others of Otho's partisans made the same requests in his behalf. Richard declares that among all Christian princes there were not any more devoted to the Roman Church than was Otho himself,

favore nostro et benevolentia gloriatur." May 3, 1199. Hence King-ton's statement that "Innocent *at once* declared against the former candidate (Philip)" cannot be upheld. *The Hist. of Fred. II.*, i. 72.

¹ *Ib.* Cf. ep. 3, *R. I.*, Otho's own letter to Innocent.

² "Dignum duximus ipsa electionis nostræ hora juramento firmare quod *possessiones* et *jura* R. Ecclesiæ aliarumque ecclesiarum imperii firma et illibata servabimus, et quod consuetudinem illam detestabilem, qua episcoporum, abbatum, principum de hac vita migrantium bona tempore mortis relictâ quidam nostri antecessores hactenus occupabant, omnino . . . dimitemus, et de beneficentia nostra principibus ecclesiasticis in perpetuum relaxamus." Ep. 3. A detailed copy of Otho's *promises* still exists in the Vatican archives, but whether it was drawn up on this occasion or later is not certain. Cf. Luchaire, iii. 30, and vi. 285.

³ *Ib.*

and he declares in his nephew's name that, under the Pope's direction, he will endeavour "to eliminate all the abuses of the secular power (*omnem pravitatem sæcularis potentie*)."¹

As we have already seen, Innocent entered into communication with Philip concerning the release of the Sicilian prisoners soon after his accession to the papal throne. He had employed the bishop of Sutri, a German by birth, to convey his message to the duke of Suabia. The bishop, who found that Philip had meanwhile been elected king, absolved him from the excommunication under which he had been placed by Celestine III., without insisting on Innocent's conditions. The new king then, using the bishop as his agent, sent him to the Pope to secure his interest in his behalf (*c.* September 1198).² About the same time also Philip of France wrote "to his most dear relative," the lord Innocent, in behalf of his namesake, assuring the Pope that the king of Germany was willing to give way concerning the matters in dispute between the Church and the Empire, and, in order to obtain the Pope's favour, was prepared to make pecuniary sacrifices.³

But Innocent was not anxious to interfere in the dispute. He, however, made it known that no final agreement with Philip was possible until he had made over to him the fortress of Montefiascone.⁴ And when, writing a little later to the princes of Germany to urge them to

Philip turns to the Pope, 1198.

Innocent does not at first favour either candidate.

¹ Epp. 4-10, *R. I.* "Nec vivunt in mundo duo principes Christiani qui adeo desiderabiliter vestræ majestati studeant deservire." Ep. 4, *cf.* ep. 5.

² Ep. 12, *R. I.* "Vobis eos (Sutri and his companion) post hæc remittere disposueramus, et per eos quid Ecclesiæ et imperii commodis conducere et dilectionem discretioni vestræ insinuare."

³ Ep. 13, *ib.*

⁴ Ep. i. 361 (wrongly numbered in Migne), *c.* October 1198. "Cum Philippo vero non convenimus finaliter, quin castrum ipsum quietum Ecclesiæ Romanæ dimittat."

end the schism which was causing "the robbing of churches and the oppression of the poor, loss of life and the ruin of souls,"¹ he gave them to understand that he would have to step in to end a schism which was ruining the dignity of the Empire, and he exhorted them to accept his decision (May 3, 1199).² Besides, whatever may have been his private feeling in Otho's behalf, it was not till May 20, 1199, that he even sent answers to the letters of his partisans, and in them he simply said that he would see to his honour and interests as far as his duty to God would allow him.³

The state-
ment of
Philip's
party to
Innocent.

The great mass of the princes, however, including most of the officials of the Empire (*ministeriales*), who had elected Philip, were not disposed either to submit "to the few princes who resisted the claims of justice," or to invoke papal arbitration. They accordingly informed the Pope of their election of Philip "as emperor of the Roman throne," and of the resolution which they had just formed to establish his position by an overwhelming display of force. "Therefore," they wrote, "do we earnestly beg the apostolic clemency to listen to the request of those who love the good estate of the Roman Church, and not to make any injurious attack on the rights of the Empire, just as we for our part are resolved that the rights of the Church shall not be infringed by any one. Hence do you extend your favour and goodwill to our most excellent lord, and, wherever you can, so efficaciously promote his honour and advantage that iniquity may not prevail over justice, and that falsehood may yield to truth. Moreover, we beg and implore you (*monemus et precamur*) to

¹ Ep. 7, *R. I.* Cf. 2, *ib.*, May 3, 1199.

² Ep. 2, *R. I.* "Expectantes autem hactenus expectavimus si forte vos ipsi saniori ducti consilio, tantis malis finem imponere curaretis."

³ Ep. 11, *R. I.* "Ad honorem et profectum ipsius libenter et efficaciter, quantum cum Deo poterimus, intendemus."

grant your support to the beloved friend and faithful servant of our lord King Philip, *i.e.*, to Markwald, marquis of Ancona, duke of Ravenna, procurator of the kingdom of Sicily, and seneschal of the Empire. And we equally urge you not to help those who would oppose him when he is on the king's business. . . . Know too that with all the force we can master we shall, with the blessing of God, in a short time come to Rome with our lord to obtain for him the sublime dignity of the imperial coronation" (May 28, 1199).¹ This strong letter was backed with the names of the archbishops of Magdeburg, Trier, and Besançon, of many bishops and abbots, of the king of Bohemia, of the dukes of Saxony, Bavaria, Austria, and of other dukes and marquises. About the same time Philip himself accredited by letter certain envoys to the Pope "on the affairs of the Empire."²

To the former document Innocent replied that he was grieved as a father over the discord which had arisen in Germany, that he was solicitous not for the depression but for the exaltation of the Empire, and that he only wished that others were as anxious to respect the rights of the Church as he was wishful that those of the Empire should be preserved intact. "We are indeed anxious to recover and to preserve our rights, but we have no wish to interfere with the rights of others. But since the imperial crown is to be given by the Roman Pontiff to the candidate who has previously been properly and lawfully elected and crowned king, we shall, in accordance with old and approved custom, willingly call such a candidate to receive the imperial crown, and solemnly confer it on him, after the usual matters which precede the coronation have been settled."³ What the princes

Innocent's
reply to
Philip and
his party.

¹ Ep. 14, *R. I.*

² Ep. 17, *R. I.*

³ Ep. 15. "Cum autem imperialis corona sit a Romano pontifice concedenda ei rite prius electo in principem et prius in regem legitime

had to say about Markwald he did not deem worthy of comment. If they had known more about him they would have written not for but against him. He knew *for certain* that the marquis was aiming at being king of Sicily, which belonged to the Roman Church, and that he had hence been proclaimed by the Empress Constance, and excommunicated by the Church.

Innocent concludes his dignified reply by urging the princes to remain true sons of the Church, and not to believe those who say what is untrue about her.

In his answer to the envoys of Philip, Innocent declared that though there ought to be concord between the Church and the Empire, still the former was superior to the latter. Both priests and kings were anointed, but kings were anointed by priests, and not priests by kings.¹ To princes is given power on earth, to priests in heaven; the former have jurisdiction over men's bodies, the latter over men's souls. The power of princes is local, that of Peter and his successors universal.² Among the chosen people the priesthood was instituted by God, but kingly power only in consequence of human discontent (*per extorsionem humanam*). In this matter, therefore, of the divided election, recourse should have been made

coronato, talem secundum antiquam et approbatam consuetudinem, libenter ad coronam suscipiendam vocabimus, et iis de more perfectis quæ ad coronationem principis exiguntur, eam sibi . . . solemniter conferemus."

¹ This point was recognised even by the thinking laymen of Innocent's time. Our countryman, Gervase of Tilbury, wrote: "Ecce quod duobus rectoribus mundus iste subicitur, et tamen a manu sacerdotali rex principatus sui unctionem habet, et ab utrorumque Domino uterque suam recipit potestatem." *Otia Imper.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxvii. p. 363.

² "Singuli reges (habent) singula regna; sed Petrus sicut plenitudine sic latitudine præminet universis, quia vicarius est illius cujus est terra et plenitudo ejus." Ep. 18, *R. I.* Like ep. 15 to the princes, this document was no doubt written in the latter half of the year 1199.

to the Apostolic See at once, because it is allowed that this affair belongs to it both primarily (principally, *principaliter*) and ultimately (*finaliter*)—primarily, because the Apostolic See transferred the Empire from the East to the West, and ultimately, because it granted the imperial crown.

Civil war and negotiations with Rome and between the belligerents continued, and the disorder was increased by each of the kings appointing one of their own party to any bishopric that might become vacant.¹ Otho especially, whose party was the weaker,² kept turning to Rome, and, profuse in his promises, earnestly implored the Pope's open support.³ Meanwhile, Conrad, archbishop of Mainz and cardinal-bishop of Sabina, whose exile in the cause of Rome had given him great influence,⁴ was working hard for peace. In accordance with Innocent's wishes, it had been arranged that the dispute should be referred to a board of arbitration consisting of six clerical and lay nobles from each side under the presidency of the archbishop of Mainz.⁵ Although Otho

Negotiations.
Prospect of
a settle-
ment.

¹ *E.g.*, on the death of Conrad of Mainz (October 27, 1200) Philip put in his place Leopold, bishop of Worms, and Otho nominated Sigfried of Eppstein. The latter, "looking well to his own interests," went to Rome, and obtained the Pope's confirmation (March 1202). Leopold, who had, on the contrary, been excommunicated, at length, "stricken with fear," went to Rome also, and tried, but to no purpose, to be recognised as archbishop. *Cf. Chron. reg. Colon., cont. II., ann. 1200-2.*

² It became more so after the death of King Richard of the Lion-heart (April 8, 1199).

³ Epp. 19 and 20, *R. I.*, written in the latter half of 1199 and the first half of 1200 respectively. In ep. 19 he says he would write oftener, but that the lands of his rival lie between himself and the Pope.

⁴ *Cf.* ep. 22, *R. I.*

⁵ Ep. 20, *R. I.*, letter of Otho to the Pope. "Ad hoc etiam Maguntinensem archiepiscopum elaborasse nostrosque consensisse juxta admonitionem vestram ut colloquium esse debeat inter Andernacum

professed to have full confidence that the arbitrators would give their verdict in his favour, he wrote to beg the Pope to compel them to accept him as their king.¹

By way of a reply to this request Innocent sent a letter to the princes in which he told them that he had been asked by many to make a careful study of the dispute so that he might know to whom he should give his support. Having then stated the arguments which were alleged on both sides, he proceeded to say that he had not hitherto taken any decisive steps in the matter in the hope that they would themselves settle the dispute, and that he was delighted to hear that at last they had listened to his suggestions, and were going to deliberate on the means of bringing peace to the Empire.² But at the same time he exhorted them to study the arguments of the two candidates which he had enumerated (and which, it must be confessed, he had set out rather in Otho's favour),³ and to choose a strong man whom he could and ought to crown, inasmuch as the Empire needed such a one, and the Church could no longer do without a strong defender. They were not, however, to choose one whose obvious defects would prevent him from being accepted by the Church. "This have we said to

et Confluentiam in proxima sexta feria post festum beati Jacobi Apostoli [in 1200 that fell on Tuesday, July 25] vestram nolumus latere pietatem."

¹ "A sanctitate vestra petimus . . . supradictis omnibus principibus . . . auctoritate apostolica . . . sub pœna et interminatione qua potestis præcipere dignemini ut ipsi negotium nostrum promovere nobisque adhærere nullatenus postponant." *Ib.* This letter was no doubt written in the spring of 1200.

² Ep. 21, c. June 1200. "Gaudemus . . . quod . . . juxta commotionem nostram proposuistis, ut acceperimus, de imperii pace tractare."

³ Because Richard favoured Otho, our own annalist Roger of Hoveden gives the story of the election wholly in his interest; an. 1198, iv. p. 37, R.S.

you, not because we wish to interfere with your freedom and dignity, but to remove any cause of dissension and scandal."¹

About the same date he despatched a number of other letters in which, without making any direct appeal in Otho's behalf, he showed towards which candidate his own feelings were inclined. He told the duke of Brabant that he would grant a dispensation so that his daughter might without delay be married to Otho, to whom she was related in a rather remote degree.² The archbishop of Trier had, on receipt of a sum of money from Adolf of Cologne, promised to recognise the king accepted by him, and had then repudiated his engagement and kept the money. The Pope required him to refund the latter, and to answer to him for his broken oath.³ Otho had complained to Innocent that, like so many others, the landgrave of Thuringia had taken his money in return for his allegiance, and had then denied him both. The Pope required the archbishop of Mainz to see to it that the landgrave at least returned the money.⁴ Our own King John was also told that he must pay over to Otho the legacies left him by King Richard;⁵ and Octavian, bishop of Ostia, was instructed to arrange, in the course of his efforts to bring about peace between the same King John and Philip of France, that no condition should be agreed to which would interfere with loyalty to the Apostolic See, "especially in the matter of the negotiations now in progress for the settlement of the Roman empire."⁶

¹ *Ib.*

² Ep. 23.

³ Ep. 26.

⁴ Ep. 27.

⁵ Ep. 28. Cf. ep. 49 and Roger of Hoveden, *Chron.*, 1200, iv. p. 116, R.S., where it appears that Otho had failed to get his dues from the faithless John.

⁶ Ep. 25. This had reference to a promise which John had made to Philip not to help Otho "in men or money to gain the Empire," and which was eventually included in the articles of peace between them. Cf. Roger of H., *l.c.*, iv. 107, 116, 151, and ep. 60, *R. I.*, to John.

Collapse
of the
negotia-
tions,
autumn
1200.

Whether the arbitrators would have followed Innocent's obvious lead must remain mere matter for conjecture. Their award was never given. Conrad of Mainz, the only man capable of holding them together, unfortunately died on October 27, 1200; and though a meeting was held, it accomplished nothing.¹

Innocent
declares
for Otho
at the end
of 1200.

Convinced that the German princes themselves were unable or unwilling to heal the schism, Innocent at length resolved to intervene directly himself.² Accordingly, towards the close of the year (1200), he drew up his famous *deliberatio*, in which he unfolded the reasons for and against each of the three candidates—the youthful Frederick, Philip, and Otho. The document opened with a statement of the Pope's reason for interfering, beginning, like many other official documents of the period, with the words, "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." "It concerns the Apostolic See," the document continued, "prudently to provide for the good of the Roman Empire, since it is recognised that in the first and last instance, the Empire pertains to that see. In the first instance, seeing that the Empire was transferred from Greece by it and for its own advantage (*per ipsam et propter ipsam*)—by its act of translation, and for its better defence. In the last instance, because the emperor receives from the Supreme Pontiff the last step of his promotion when he is consecrated (*benedicitur*), and crowned by him, and is in-

¹ *Contin. Admuntensis*, an. 1200, ap. *M. G. SS.*, ix.; *Chron. reg. Colon.*, *contin. III.*, an. 1200, p. 197, ed. *in usum schol.* Cf. epp. 30, 31, *R. I.*

² And his right to do so was generally recognised, as is pointed out by Huillard-Bréholles: "Dans le grand débat engagé au sujet de la succession à l'Empire entre Frédéric II., Philippe de Souabe et Othon de Brunswick, la compétence d'Innocent III. à décider sur la validité de l'élection est reconnue par tous les partis." *Étude sur l'état politique de l'Italie* (1183-1355), p. 132, ap. *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, t. xxvii., Paris, 1873.

vested with the Empire by him. This Henry thoroughly understood; for, after he had received the crown from our predecessor Celestine III. of blessed memory . . . he asked to be invested by him with the Empire by means of the golden palla."¹

With regard to Frederick, it is true, he pointed out, that the princes elected him and took the oath of fealty to him in the lifetime of his father. But they chose a wholly unfit person—to wit, a child of two years old, not then baptized.² Unlawful and rash oaths of that kind are not to be kept.³ In Philip's case it may be said that he was elected by the majority of the electors and the more dignified ones. He was, however, elected when under excommunication, and he is still under it because the bishop of Sutri did not fulfil the papal mandate in absolving him. Besides, as the chief ally of Markwald, he has shared in the excommunication pronounced against him and his aiders and abettors. Moreover, he

¹ Ep. 29.

² "The medieval state," notes the Rev. J. N. Figgis, "had one basis of unity denied to the modern,—religion. Baptism was a necessary element in true citizenship in the Middle Ages, and excommunication was its antithesis." *Studies in Political Thought from Gerson to Grotius*, p. 17, Cambridge, 1907.

³ With regard to each candidate Innocent examined what was lawful, what was due, and what was expedient. We have had to abridge his document. Our countryman, Gervase of Tilbury, through the favour of Otho IV., "marshal of the kingdom of Arles," in his *Otia Imperialia*, addressed to that prince, sets forth at length why Innocent could not recognise the election of the child Frederick made in his father's time: "Conventionem pridem cum principibus Teutoniæ facta ab Henrico de successione imperii per sanctissimum P. Innocentium cassata, tum quia jus elegendi principibus ademptum per hanc fuerat, tum quia permutatio beneficiorum dampnosa fieri posset imperio, tum quia (si filius parvulus aut minus discretus jure successionis imperium vendicaret, pendente etatis imperfecte consilio, totius imperii ruina immineret) tum quia *jus Romane ecclesie circa confirmationem imperatoris ac consecrationem aut reprobationem pateretur diminutionem*," etc. *M. G. S.S.*, xxvii. p. 381.

has shown himself a persecutor and usurper of ecclesiastical property, and he is of a family which has greatly persecuted the Church.¹

Coming lastly to Otho, the Pope as usual stated the case against him. "It was not right (*videtur quod non liceat*) to favour him, because he was elected by the minority; it was not proper (*non deceat*), because in supporting him he would seem to be acting rather from hatred of another than from any merits of his; and it was not expedient (*non expedit*), because his party was the weaker. But, since as many (if not the majority) of those to whom the chief share in electing the emperor belongs are known to have sided with Otho, as sided with his opponent; since the suitableness of the person elected is in such cases more to be considered than the number of the electors; since in the electors themselves wisdom is of more importance than numbers," and since Otho, owing to his family connections devoted to the Church,² is more fit to rule than Philip, it must be accounted lawful, proper, and expedient for the Apostolic See to favour Otho. If, therefore, the princes will not agree on a suitable candidate, nor refer the matter to the decision of the Holy See, then Otho must be accepted as king, and summoned to receive the imperial crown.³

¹ "Olim enim patrimonium Ecclesiæ sibi usurpare contendens, ducem Tusciæ et Campaniæ se scribebat, asserens quod usque ad portas urbis acceperat potestatem." Ep. 29, *R. I.*

² *Ib.* "Ex utraque parte trahat originem ex genere devotorum; ex parte matris de domo regum Angliæ, ex parte patris de prosapia ducum Saxoniæ, qui omnes Ecclesiæ fuere devoti, et specialiter Lotharius imperator proavus ejus." In Ep. 32 to Otho he also emphasises the devotion of the Royal family of England to the Holy See: "Anglicana domus . . . in devotione sedis apostolicæ fere semper perstitit et persistat."

³ "Ei (Otho) manifeste favendum, et ipsum recipiendum in regem, et . . . ad coronam imperii evocandum." The last words of the *deliberatio*.

By letters and through the agency of Guido, cardinal-bishop of Præneste, Otho and all the interested parties were informed of Innocent's decision.¹ Then, as the princes neither themselves agreed on a suitable candidate nor referred the dispute to the Pope,² "on July 3, 1201, in the church of St Peter (at Cologne), Guido of Præneste, cardinal-bishop and legate of the Apostolic See, by the authority of the Supreme Pontiff Innocent III., confirmed the election of Otho, and, having consecrated him, excommunicated all his adversaries."³ This definite papal pronouncement was made not an hour too soon, for, as Guido soon after reported to Innocent, had it not been made then, some of the princes (*quorundam corda principum*) would, "in hatred of the Roman Church," have put forward a third candidate.⁴

Innocent sends envoys to announce his decision to Germany, 1201.

It is not astonishing that Innocent should have thus favoured Otho, seeing that that prince had made more advances to him than Philip, and the oath he had taken at Neuss, near Dusseldorf (June 8, 1201), before the Pope's envoys publicly accepted him, must have been regarded at Rome as most satisfactory. Among other items Otho swore to recognise as belonging to the Roman Church "all the country between Radicofani and Ceprano, the Exarchate of Ravenna, the March of Pentapolis, the land of the Countess Matilda, and the county of Bertinoro,

¹ Epp. 30 and 31, to the archbishop of Cologne and to all the princes of Germany, Jan. 5, 1201. Epp. 32-49, to Otho, to Philip of France, John of England, etc., etc. Cf. *Ann. Pegavenses*, an. 1198, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi., where it is noted that Innocent excommunicated Philip and his supporters, and caused Otho to be crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle "in regem Alemanie"; Otto of St. Blaise, c. 48.

² Cf. epp. 30, 31, 33, *R. I.*

³ *Ann. S. Geronis Colon.*, an. 1201, p. 303, ed. *in usum schol.*, or ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. p. 734. Cf. Reiner, *Ann.*, 1291, ap. *ib.*, p. 655, and especially the report of Cardinal Guido to Innocent on the doings of his envoys. Ep. 57, *R. I.*, July 1201.

⁴ Ep. 51, *R. I.*

with the other adjacent territories enumerated in various imperial privileges from the time of the emperor Louis (the Pious).” He also recognised the right of the Roman Church to the kingdom of Sicily; and he engaged to follow the Pope’s lead in his relations with the Roman people and with the Tuscan and Lombard Leagues, and in the matter of peace between Philip of France and himself.¹ But, as so often happened, Innocent and his successors were to find that Otho and Frederick II., for whom they had done most, were to prove the most ungrateful.

Retort of
Philip’s
party, *c.*
Feb. 1202.

Whilst Innocent supported the efforts of his envoys on Otho’s behalf,² Philip’s partisans were not idle, and in the beginning of the year 1202 they addressed a vigorous letter of protest to the Pope. Who could believe, they asked with indignation, that confusion would spring from the fount of order, and injustice from the home of right? Hence they cannot believe that the action of Cardinal Guido of Præneste has the authority of the Pope behind it. It has never been known that cardinals have interfered with the election of the King of the Romans. Nor can it be maintained that, apart from the princes themselves, there is any superior who can step in and remedy a schismatical imperial election. In their conclusion, however, the princes so far descended from their lofty stand as to assure Innocent that their candidate would never cease to pay his due obedience to him and to the Roman Church, and they begged him not to refuse to anoint Philip when the proper time arrived.³

Philip of France wrote to the Pope in even less measured terms. He was astonished that the Pope should think of placing the imperial crown on the head of an enemy of

¹ Ep. 77, *R. I.*

² Epp. 55–60, *R. I.*

³ Ep. 61. “Unde petimus ut veniente tempore et loco, sicut vestri officii est, unctionis ipsi beneficium non negetis.”

France. The hard things (no doubt he is here alluding to the affair of his divorce) which the Pope had said and done against his own person he could bear, but he could not endure what threatened the honour of his realm. "If then you wish to persevere in your undertaking, we shall take such steps with regard to it as opportunity and time shall suggest." He, too, adopting milder language at the close of his letter, again offered to go bail for Philip's conduct towards the Church.¹

To these militant missives Innocent replied at length. The princes were reminded that their right of election was fully recognised, and had not been interfered with; but they were also asked to remember that to the Pope belonged the right to examine the candidate for empire. If the princes agreed to elect an excommunicated person, or a tyrant or a fool, the Pope could not be expected to crown such a one.² Then, after repeating the arguments in Otho's favour and against Philip which have already been noted, he warned the princes that the accession of Philip would strengthen the hereditary principle of succession to the Empire, and tend to destroy their rights and privileges.

Innocent's
replies.
1202.

Next Philip of France was assured that he need have no fear of Otho, and that, if need be, the Roman Church would ever keep him and his kingdom from suffering any harm from Otho. On the contrary, he would be in danger from Philip, who, besides having once behaved treacherously to him on his return from the Holy

¹ Ep. 63, *R. I.*

² "Sed et principes recognoscere debent, et utique recognoscunt quod jus et auctoritas examinandi personam electam in regem et promovendam in imperium ad nos spectat qui eam inungimus, consecramus et coronamus." Ep. 62, *R. I.*, to the duke of Zähringen, c. March 1202. This is the famous decretal "Venerabilem" of the *Corpus juris Canon.*, l. i., tit. vi., *De electione*, c. 34, ed. Friedberg, ii. p. 79 ff.

Land,¹ would be too powerful for him if he obtained the Empire, and succeeded in the endeavours he was already making to attach Sicily to it. "If you, then, consider it unbearable (*damnosum et grave*) that the Roman Pontiff should favour any one, and especially an emperor, against the kingdom of the Franks, so it would be very vexatious (*grave et molestum*) to us if the king of the Franks were to show favour to any one against the Roman Church, especially in this matter of the Roman Empire."

Continu-
ance of the
imperial
schism.

Innocent's interference, however, in Otho's behalf quite failed to put an end to the imperial schism; and, later on, it gave occasion to his enemies to attribute to him the great evils of the schism, which they said were largely due to his having first favoured and then condemned Otho. Hence, says the old story-teller, Cæsar of Heisterbach, once when Innocent was preaching to the people, his enemy, John Capocci, who favoured Otho, interrupted his discourse by shouting out: "Your words are the words of God, but your deeds are those of the devil."² Still he was not discouraged, but for years, by hundreds of letters,³ and by every means in his power, did he labour to secure Otho's ultimate triumph. On Otho himself he urged trust in God and in the Roman Church, and the necessity on the one hand of avoiding rash exposure of his person in battle, and on the other of cultivating the goodwill of Philip of France, the Senate and people of Rome, the *rectors* of the Lombard and Tuscan Leagues, and the bishops.⁴ John of England

¹ "Ad audientiam tuam credemus pervenisse quod serenitati tuæ in Lombardia paravit insidias de ultra marinis partibus redeunti." Ep. 63, *R. I.*

² *Dialogus mirac.*, D. ii. c. 30.

³ Epp. 65 ff.

⁴ "Celsitudinem tuam . . . exhortamur quatenus senatui populoque Romano, rectoribus Lombardiæ ac Tusciæ, singulis etiam civitatibus et baronibus, imo etiam . . . episcopis, de tuo prospero statu frequenter

was exhorted to give to Otho not only what was due to him by Richard's will, but substantial help in addition.¹ The archbishop of Trier was instructed to take steps against the archbishop of Tarentaise if he did not repent of having crowned Philip—an act of presumption of which none of the archbishops of Germany were guilty.² Milan and all the rulers of Lombardy were called upon to help the heir of Henry the Lion, and they were reminded that the one aim of the Pope was to bring about the triumph of one "who will cultivate the peace of the Church and of the Empire, who will safeguard (*diligeret*) the privileges of the city, and preserve the freedom of all Italy, and especially of Lombardy."³ Nor does Innocent forget to ask Otho's relative, the king of Denmark, to support him vigorously, so that he may soon obtain "the monarchy of empire."⁴

Přemysl Ottokar I., duke of Bohemia, 1197-1230, was also one of Innocent's correspondents in this connection. "Before your accession," wrote the Pope to him in a most interesting historical letter, "though many of your predecessors in Bohemia wore the regal crown, they were never able to induce our predecessors, the Pontiffs of Rome, to style them kings in their letters. We too, following in their footsteps, and carefully considering that you caused yourself to be crowned king by

The ruler of Bohemia is recognised as king for joining Otho.

litteras tuas studeas destinare, per quas eis bona promittas," etc. Ep. 57, *R. I.*, c. end of 1201. Cf. ep. 65, c. March 1202, and ep. 83, January 13, 1203, ep. 107, January 25, 1204. See also ep. 133, c. February 1206, wherein he once more assures Otho of his favour "quam velut columnam immobilem semper invariabilem comprobasti."

¹ Ep. 69, *R. I.*, March 1202. Cf. ep. 129, c. September 1205, epp. 131, 132 (February 17, 1206). From notes in the Register attached to ep. 132 it appears that the Pope wrote also to different magnates in England to urge them to induce John to help Otho.

² Ep. 74, c. October 1202.

³ Ep. 92, December 11, 1203. Cf. ep. 89, c. July 1203, and epp. 93-95.

⁴ Ep. 181; cf. ep. 97, December 1203.

his excellency Philip, duke of Suabia, who, as he was not legitimately crowned king himself, could not make you or any one else a king—we have, therefore, hitherto decided that you must not be entitled king. But since, in view of our exhortations,¹ you have wisely gone over to our most dear son in Christ, the illustrious King Otho, Roman emperor-elect, and since he has recognised you as king, it is our will, in virtue of his request and your devotion, to account you as king, and so to address you.” The letter closed with an entreaty to the new king to be grateful, and to get himself crowned by Otho as soon as possible.²

Decline of
Otho's
power.

After Innocent's open recognition of Otho's claims the cause of that prince prospered for some time, and he was able to report to the Pope that he had gained the support of the king of Bohemia, the landgrave of Thuringia, and the marquis of Moravia.³ But Philip's party was not idle in the meantime. Their leader gave out that the sole reason of Innocent's opposition to him was his wishing to rule (*imperare*) without papal permission, and that liberty had come to an end, as no one could be king (*imperare*) without the consent of the Roman Pontiff.⁴ As the struggle went on, he caused it to be spread abroad that the Pope had sent an envoy to him to offer him the imperial crown;⁵ and when in the

¹ “Ad commonitionem apostolicæ sedis et nostram.” Ep. vii. 49, April 19, 1204.

² *Ib.* Cf. vii. 54, and 127; and ep. 102, *R. I.*, to the Zupans of Bohemia. As early as 1201 it was said that the duke of Bohemia had joined Otho's party. Cf. ep. 52, *R. I.* From the days of Ottokar I. the rulers of Bohemia have always been reckoned as kings.

³ Ep. 106, *R. I.*, c. November 1203. Cf. Reineri *Annal.*, 1203, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. p. 657.

⁴ Ep. 52, c. July 1201.

⁵ Ep. 90, to the archbishop of Salzburg, September 9, 1293. “Philippus . . . fecit per Teutonium divulgari quod dilectum filium priorem Camaldulensem ad ejus præsentiam miseramus, eum ad coronam imperii evocantes.”

autumn of 1203 the Pope fell ill, Philip's party announced everywhere that Innocent had died, and had been succeeded by a Pope Clement, in whose supposed name they forged letters, as they had already done in the name of Innocent himself.¹

Above all things, Philip fought with money, of which, especially since the death of Richard of England, his opponent had been in want. The shameful way in which the German princes allowed themselves to be bought and sold aroused the indignation even of that staunch upholder of Philip, Burchard, abbot of Ursberg. They had, he wrote, "no scruple about breaking their oaths, violating their faith, and confounding every principle of right, deserting now Philip for Otho, and now Otho for Philip."² With soul equally indignant sang Walter von der Vogelweide:—

"These threadbare kinglets press thee sore :
Crown Philip with the Kaiser's crown
And bid them vex thy peace no more."³

Among others who allowed themselves to be won over by money or promises was even Adolf of Cologne, the one whose right it was to crown the German kings (close of 1204).⁴ He at once completed Philip's claim to

Adolf of
Cologne
deserts to
Philip,
1204.

¹ Ep. 96, December 13, 1203. "Sub nostro nomine litteras in falsitatis fabrica fabricarunt, sic nocere volentes illi (Otho) ut nobis impingeretur vitium falsitatis."

² *Chron.*, p. 78. According to Cæsar of Heisterbach, Leopold, bishop of Worms, who was trying to possess himself of the archiepiscopal see of Mainz by the aid of Philip, when Innocent declared him deprived of his benefice, went the length of raising an army, and of marching into Italy to wage war on the Pope. He even dared, "quod dictu horrible est," adds Cæsar, to excommunicate Innocent. *Dialog. mirac.*, D. ii. c. 9.

³ Ap. Alison Philips, *Selected Poems of Walter von der Vogelweide*, p. xxix and p. 97.

⁴ *Chron.* Burchard., p. 79, an. 1205. Cf. *Annal. Weingart.*, "Adoldus Coloniensis episcopus et ipse muneribus corruptus, Ottone

universal recognition by crowning him in the proper place, *i.e.*, at Aix-la-Chapelle (January 6, 1205).¹ Philip's partisans were overjoyed, and his poetical client, the Minnesinger Walter, broke out into song to celebrate his patron's success :—

“The crown is older than King Philip ! Lies
 Not here a miracle before our eyes ?
 The smith has done so well his duty,
 The crown fits the imperial head so true
 That no good man would separate the two ;
 And the one sets off the other's beauty.
 Each strengthens each in sooth,
 The noble jewel and the noble youth.
 In ecstasy the Princes are !
 Let him who here and there for Kaiser turns,
 Behold upon whose head the *Orphan* burns :
 The stone is all the Princes' polar star ! ”²

Innocent's indignation, however, at the treason of Adolf may be easily imagined. It was unendurable, he wrote,³ that, at a time when Greeks, Wallachians, Bulgarians, and Armenians were returning to obedience, he should be disobeyed by his venerable brother the archbishop of Cologne.

Adolf was promptly cited to Rome, and, in consequence, etc. ; ap. *Mon. Welforum*, ed. Weiland *in usum schol.*, and especially *Chron. reg. Colon., contin. II.*, p. 174, sub an. 1204, ed. *in usum schol.* : “accepta ab eo pecunia innumerabili.” His loyalty to Otho had been suspected for some time. Cf. *Chron. regia Colon., contin.*, p. 168, and ep. 55, *R. I.* From ep. 113, *ib.*, of October 29, 1204, it is clear that Adolf's desertion of Otho had taken place before then.

¹ Ep. 116, *R. I.*, March 13, 1205.

² Bithell, whose translation we are here quoting (*The Minnesingers*, p. 90) cites Albertus Magnus to the effect that the *Orphan* was a stone in the imperial crown which was so called because it was a solitary and unique specimen. Lange (*Walther von der V.*, p. 88) says the Orphan (le Solitaire) was a diamond, which, according to the legend, Duke Ernest, who had dug it out “of the hollow mountain,” gave to Otho I. The stanzas in the text perhaps, strictly speaking, refer to Philip's first coronation ; but, without doing them any violence, they can be referred to this more solemn one.

³ Ep. 113.

quence of his failure to obey, was excommunicated and deposed. Bruno, the provost of Cologne, was consecrated in his stead by Sigfried of Mainz, assisted by two English bishops who had been ordered by the Pope to betake themselves to Germany for the purpose (June 6, 1206).¹

This treachery of Adolf proved a fatal blow to the success of Otho. Some years before, Cardinal Guido, Innocent's legate to Otho, had assured his master that if only the ecclesiastical princes would adhere to his candidate, his cause would soon be won.² Evidently also the converse of the proposition was true. Even Innocent could not prevent the mass of the ecclesiastical princes from favouring Philip.³ He made, however, heroic but useless efforts to check the general abandonment of Otho's cause which now ensued—an abandonment shared in even by Otho's own brother Henry, Count Palatine of the Rhine.⁴ On March 18, 1205, the Pope addressed a circular letter to all the ecclesiastical and secular supporters of Otho. "He," wrote Innocent, "is not a friend of a man but of his fortune who, shaken by adverse fortune like a reed by the wind, deserts in adversity the one upon whom he smiled in prosperity.

¹ *Chron. reg. Colon., contin. II.*, an. 1206, p. 179. "Bruno . . . consecratur . . . præsentiſſibus duobus episcopis qui ad hoc ipsum jussu apostolici de Anglia illuc advenerant." Cf. *ib.*, *contin. III.*, an. 1206, p. 223; ep. Inn., ix. 96; and Arnold, *Chron. Slav.*, vii. 1 and 3.

² Ep. 51, *R. I.* "Si soli ecclesiastici principes d. regi Ottoni . . . vellent viribus et animis adhaerere, nulla vel modica difficultas in ipsius progressu negotii," etc., July 3, 1201.

³ One or two of the bishops, unwilling either to favour Otho or to oppose the Pope, contrived to remain neutral, because they felt that disobedience to him meant the ruin of ecclesiastical discipline and consequent fatal loss to the Church. See the history of two bishops of Halberstadt, ap. *Gesta episc. Halb.*, p. 114 f., in *M. G. SS.*, xxiii.

⁴ Cf. Arnold, *Chron. Slav.*, vi. 6; and Ralph Coggeshall, *Chron. Aug.*, an. 1204, p. 147, R.S.

Various are the fortunes of war, and what is ever on the move cannot always remain in the same state. Steady men, therefore, must not fluctuate with every change of inconstant events, but must rather stand fast, realising that it is the final accomplishment, not a single battle, which puts the crown upon an undertaking. . . . We are, accordingly, no little astonished and moved that some of the princes who, of their own free will, did homage to our most dear son in Christ, the illustrious King Otho, Roman emperor-elect, and who, without compulsion, took the oath of fealty to him,—now that the cause of the noble duke of Suabia seems to be prospering somewhat, should violate their honour and their oaths, and should abandon him to whom they had once adhered, and should go over to his adversary." Innocent concluded by noting that the more traitors are contemptible, the more estimable are the loyal.¹ But it was all to no purpose. Otho's was now a lost cause which it was worse than useless to attempt any longer to uphold.

It only remained for Innocent to try to obtain the best terms for Otho. To this end all his policy was directed right up to the death of Philip (June 1208); and this end he was to find of very difficult accomplishment, as the man in whose interests he was working was much more distinguished for daring rashness than for common sense.

Philip, who had never ceased to maintain diplomatic relations with Rome and to make splendid promises to the Pope, if only in order that he might be able to give out from time to time that the Pope had ceased to support Otho,²

Philip
opens
vigorous
negotia-
tions with
Rome,
1206.

¹ Ep. 119, *R. I.* Cf. ep. 121, to the Palatine Henry "ad infamiam nominis tui."

² Ep. 90, *R. I.*, September 9, 1203. Cf. especially his letters to Innocent in the year 1203, ap. Raynald, *Annal. eccles.*, an. 1203, nn. 28–30; or ap. *P. L.*, t. 217, p. 295 ff. He promises not to interfere with episcopal elections, etc. Cf. Luchaire, ii. p. 120 ff.

now resumed negotiations with Innocent with renewed vigour. He sent him a long account of his election, as well as of the counter-election of Otho.¹ He assured the Pope that he recognised the Roman Church "as the mother and mistress of all churches, and that it was his will to revere and honour it as his catholic and apostolic mother, and to defend it to the best of his ability, and to labour for its exaltation." He denied that he was ever excommunicated by Celestine, and concluded his apologia by asserting that when the Pope knew the whole truth, and realised his devotion to him, he would give him a full share of his love.

Innocent expressed himself pleased with the tone of Philip's letter, and endeavoured to bring about a truce, in the hope that some peaceful settlement might be arrived at.² This was the more necessary in Otho's interests after his severe defeat by Philip at Wassenberg on the Roër (July 27, 1206);³ for, despite all the efforts that were made to detach the Pope from Otho, Innocent still remained true to him.⁴

Efforts to
bring about
a general
peace.

But Otho's affairs were rapidly becoming desperate. Even Cologne, the very centre of his strength, was compelled to negotiate with Philip; and towards the close of the year (1206) he found it necessary to abandon it,

¹ Ep. 136, *R. I.* "Scriptum Philippi ad D. Papam"; c. June 1206.

² Ep. 137; cf. epp. 138-9.

³ *Chron. reg. Colon., contin. II.*, 1206, p. 179 f., *contin. III.*, p. 223 f.; Arnold, *Chron. Slav.*, vii. 5.

⁴ "In omnibus his apostolicus ut columpna immobilis a suo proposito non cessabat; . . . nec defuerunt qui suggestionibus sive muneribus, seu promissionibus temptavit animum ipsius immutare." Arnold, *l.c.*, vii. 4. Innocent's loyalty to Otho's cause at this time is allowed even by those who afterwards blamed him for supporting Frederick:

"Ipsius (Otho) ut parti velles assistere contra
Philippi, contra fortunæ prælia, contra
Totius Imperii, pariter mundique favorem."

Carmen de Ott. IV. destit., p. 526.

and to retreat to Brunswick. A few months later Philip captured the envoys whom the authorities at Cologne (*priores Coloniensium*) had sent off to Rome to negotiate about peace, and in April (1207) made his triumphal entry into the city.¹

The Pope
sends two
cardinals
into Ger-
many.

Otho meanwhile had sailed to England (1207), and he returned with five thousand marks of silver which he contrived to extract from King John.² Such a sum was not, however, sufficient to enable him materially to improve his position. Besides, the nobles generally were tired of the years of war, and resolved to work for peace.³ An important embassy, consisting of Wolfger, patriarch of Aquileia, with a number of Philip's officials, was sent to Rome in his behalf. It would appear that they made a favourable impression on the Pope, and it is even said that they agreed to a marriage between Philip's daughter and Innocent's brother Richard.⁴ At any rate, the Pope sent to Germany, in order to negotiate a general peace, his great-nephew Ugolino, now cardinal-bishop of Ostia and Velletri, and Cardinal Leo (1207)—men who are described as remarkable for their industry, ability, and religion.⁵ In a very eloquent letter their mission was commended by Innocent to all the princes of Germany.⁶

¹ *Chron. reg. Colon., contin. II.*, ann. 1206 and 7, p. 181, and *ib., contin. III., l.c.*, p. 224. Cf. Reineri *Annales*, an. 1206, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. p. 660.

² *Chron. reg. Colon., cont. III., l.c.*; Roger of Wendover, *Chron.*, 1207; Mat. Par., *Hist. Anglor.*, 1207, ii. p. 108 f., R.S.

³ Burchard, *Chron.*, p. 82. "Jam principes diuturnis bellis fatigati decreverunt ad concordiam rebelles inter se reges revocare."

⁴ So Burchard was informed by "truth-telling men." *Ib.*, p. 83. Cf. ep. 137, *R. I.*

⁵ Burchard, *l.c.*, p. 83. Cf. *Chron. reg. Colon., contin. II.*, p. 182, "Innocentius . . . divino utputa instinctu premonitus, speculatorem se domus Domini delegatum considerans, . . . duos cardinales . . . direxit . . . ad informandam . . . pacem." Ugolino was afterwards Gregory IX. Cf. *ib., contin. III., l.c.*; Arnold, *Chron. Slav.*, vii. 6.

⁶ Ep. 141, *R. I.*

He pointed out the public and private calamities which had resulted from the imperial schism, especially its unhappy effect on the cause of the Crusades, on the growth of heresy, and on the poor. He therefore begged them to give heed to the words of the envoys whom he had sent "in order to restore harmony in the Empire, and to establish true peace between it and the Church."¹

On August 15 the papal legates succeeded in bringing the two kings together at Northusin (Nordhausen), on the confines of Thuringia and Saxony.² Though not much was effected at this meeting, much more was done at subsequent meetings—at Quedlinburg, and especially at Augsburg (November 30). Philip, who had been absolved from excommunication in August after having promised to submit to the decision of the Pope regarding the matters on account of which he had been excommunicated,³ agreed to release Bruno, archbishop of Cologne, whom he had taken prisoner, that he might go to Rome to arrange his claims against Adolf. He also consented to abandon Leopold of Mainz, to recognise Sigfried, and to disband the large army he had collected against Otho. Finally, although the legates were unable to arrange definite terms of peace between the rival kings, they succeeded in having a truce proclaimed between them for a year.⁴

Result of
the car-
dinal's
mission,
1207.

¹ *Ib.*

² *Chron. reg. Col., cont. II.*, an. 1207, p. 182 ; Burchard, 1207, p. 83. What Arnold (*Chron. Slav.*, vii. 6) has to say about a temporary failure of the legates to do their duty through presents received from Philip, cannot be reconciled with the dicta of more authentic documents, as Luchaire allows, ii. p. 153 ff.

³ See the document known as the "Processus legatorum Apostolicæ sedis," *i.e.*, ep. 142, *R. I.* On November 1 Innocent, writing to "Philip, duke of Suabia," says : "Postquam absolutionis gratiam per apostolicæ sedis legatos . . . percepisti," etc. Cf. Arnold, *ib.*, and *Chron. S. Petri Erford.*, 1207, p. 204, ed. Holder-Egger.

⁴ The *Processus* just cited. Cf. Innocent's instructions to the legates, epp. 144-149, *R. I.* ; *Chron. reg. Col., cont. II., l.c.*, and *cont. III.*, p. 225.

Unfortunately, no official document has survived to let us know exactly what terms of peace were put forward by the legates as a basis of a settlement of the rival claims of the two kings. Otto of St. Blaise,¹ however, says that they proposed that Otho should give up the title of king, and recognise Philip as his sovereign. In return, he was to receive Philip's daughter as his wife, and with her the duchy of Alamannia (Suabia) and other possessions; and, considering that Philip had no male heir, this alliance might mean much to Otho in the future. But, says the historian—and this is a point to be insisted upon—though his position was hopeless (*quamvis jam desperatus*), he declared with obstinate courage that he would die rather than give up his regal title, and proceeded to offer Philip still more advantageous terms if he would yield to him. The legates were only too pleased to secure the year's truce.

All through these negotiations, although the desperate state of Otho's affairs compelled Innocent to yield somewhat to Philip in the hope of arriving at a settlement not wholly unfavourable to his ally, he never abandoned the cause of Otho. To the hour of Philip's death that prince never received any other title from Innocent than "duke of Suabia," whereas Otho was always to him "illustrious king, emperor-elect."² So straightforward was his conduct that, when some of his private instructions to his legates were lost, he bade them not be distressed even if they found that they had fallen into Philip's hands (*ad manus principis*). For, said he, "it will be clear from them that we have acted not with duplicity but with

¹ *Chron.*, c. 48. Cf. *Chron. S. Petri Erford.*, 1207, p. 204; *Annal. Stadenses*, an. 1207, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. p. 354. Otto concludes his account of the conference thus: "Cardinalibus ad regem Philippum se conferentibus, eique favorem d. apostolici offerentibus."

² Cf. ep. 143, to Philip, duke of Suabia, November 1, 1207; and ep. 150, to Otho, "illustri regi in Augustum electo."

straightforward singleness, not deviating to the right nor to the left."¹

Before returning to their master, the papal legates Ugolino and Leo, in accordance with their instructions from Innocent, exhorted both the kings to send envoys to him in their company.² Philip at once notified his intention to comply with the Pope's wishes, and sent Wolfger, the patriarch of Aquileia, and others, "with full power and authority to make peace between the Church and the Empire, and between you and us, and also to heal the schism so fatal to the Empire and the Church."³ After a special letter from Innocent himself to Otho in which he urged him also to send envoys, so that his cause might not be left undefended, and in which he suggested to him that the bishop of Cambrai⁴ should be one of them, that obstinate prince likewise complied with the Pope's wishes, and sent his envoys with the others.

Philip
sends en-
voys to
Rome,
1208.

¹ Ep. 148, *R. I.* "Nullatenus doleatis si etiam ad manus principis eadem litteræ devenissent; cum in iis nihil reperiatur reprehensione dignum . . . satisque per illas appareat quod non in duplicitate dolosa, sed in pura simplicitate procedimus," etc.

² Ep. 146, *R. I.*

³ Ep. 140. "Quibus dedimus . . . auctoritatem (1) inter Ecclesiam et imperium (2) et inter vos et nos pacem et concordiam reformare, et (3) periculosam regni et sacerdotii scissuram feliciter restaurare." It appears to be obvious that Philip's envoys were sent to deal with (1) the general questions between the Church and the Empire, (2) Philip's personal relations with Rome, and (3) the imperial schism. Hence Luchaire's view (iii. 162 f.) would seem to be untenable. Cf. ep. 150, *R. I.*

⁴ It was at the suggestion of this papal legate that the people of Cologne had elected Bruno to replace the traitor Adolf, and had prepared to resist Philip. Cf. Reiner, *Annal.*, an. 1205, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. p. 659. Innocent's putting forward such a name shows his continued interest in Otho's behalf, as does also the letter (ep. 154) which he wrote to him about May 1208. In this he assured him that he was working so hard for his interests that the envoys of his rival declared that "their master could get better terms for himself from you, than they could from us acting in your behalf."

Murder of
Philip of
Suabia,
June 21,
1208.

What was the result of the special pleading of the rival groups of plenipotentiaries who appeared before Innocent is not known. All that is known for certain about the Pope's decision is contained in a few words of general import which he addressed to Otho. He informed him that the legates and envoys were returning to Germany with news of the decisions arrived at, and that he might await their coming with feelings of contentment (*cum gaudio*).¹

Innocent, who was very pleased with the manner in which Ugolino and Leo had carried out their difficult task,² sent them back to Germany to complete their work. But, when in June they reached north Italy, they heard rumours that Philip was dead. The rumours proved to be well founded. On June 21, 1208, Philip had been murdered at Bamberg by Otho of Wittlesbach, count palatine of Bavaria, whose feelings he had outraged by promising him his daughter in marriage, and then giving her to another.³

¹ Ep. 151. Cf. *Chron. reg. Colon., cont. III.*, an. 1208, p. 225. "Formam pacis et compositionis, pro qua prefati legati advenerant . . . approbans, rursum predictos cardinales remisit et, ut ad unguem ipsum negotium perducerent imperavit."

² Cf. ep. 148.

³ Cf. in the first instance Cardinal Ugolino's report to Innocent, ep. 152, *R. I.* He at once returned to Innocent, "whom," he said, "unwillingly but obediently, he had left." Cf. *Chron. reg. Colon., cont. II.* and *III.*, pp. 183, 226; *Annal. S. Trudpert*, an. 1207, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvii.; Chounradi Schirensis, *Ann.*, 1208, ap. *ib.*, p. 631, and the other annals. Various persons were, seemingly without any reason, supposed to be privy to the action of the count; e.g., among others Albert, archbishop of Magdeburg, but he "solempniter se expiavit coram Papa." *Gesta archiep. Magd.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xiv. p. 419. This Otho was the nephew of the Otho of Wittlesbach who had been such a staunch follower of Frederick Barbarossa, and was the first duke of Bavaria of the house of Wittlesbach.

CHAPTER II.

OTHO IV. AND FREDERICK II.

THE first result of the base murder of Philip, which wrung a general expression of sorrow from all parties,¹ was an alarming increase in the already widespread disorder. The poor and the merchants were robbed with increased effrontery.² The next was an attempt of Henry I., duke of Brabant, to be elected king in Philip's stead. To this he was urged by Philip of France.³ But the mass of the greater princes had had enough of anarchy, and the Pope, of course, now exerted himself in his usual energetic style in Otho's behalf. His letters on the prevention of the election of any fresh imperial candidate were soon all over Germany, and the bishops were ordered to excommunicate any one who should dare to anoint or crown another king.⁴

Final election of Otho as king of the Romans, 1208.

He also made a strenuous effort to secure for Otho the goodwill of Philip of France, impressing upon him that Otho had sent to Rome a letter under his golden bull to the effect that he would follow the papal directions in the matter of peace with France.⁵

¹ Though Innocent believed that the difficulty in the empire had been removed "by the judgment of God," he expressed his detestation of the crime of Otho: "Quamvis illud crudele facinus detestemur quod a filiis Belial nequiter est commissum." Ep. 154, to the clergy of Magdeburg, c. July 1208. Cf. ep. 158.

² Cf. ep. 152, *R. I.* Cf. Conrad de Fabaria, *Casus S. Galli*, c. 8.

³ *Chron. reg. Colon., cont. II.*, p. 183.

⁴ Ep. 154, *R. I.* Cf. epp. 153, 155-159, etc., 168.

⁵ Ep. 165, September 17, 1208.

In writing to Otho, Innocent reminded him that, when even his relations had deserted him, he had never ceased to watch his interests, doing for him "what seemed to be for his advantage at the time, watching for him when perchance he was sleeping himself, and suffering for him much which he forbore to tell him when he was oppressed by adversity."¹ He assured him that he was working hard in his interests, and urged him to show himself gracious to all; to be neither too stingy nor too liberal with his promises; to offer abundant guarantees of his favour to the leaders of the opposite party; to take care of his person; to throw off torpor; to see to things himself; and, if he thinks desirable, to marry Philip's daughter Beatrice.²

Innocent's hope that in his time both the Church and the Empire would benefit each other³ was destined to be fulfilled, but, as we shall see, for the briefest space.

After a few months spent in winning over the princes, Otho was re-elected king by a great diet at Frankfort (November 11, 1208), and on the same occasion it was decided that he should, with papal dispensation, marry Philip's daughter.⁴

This news naturally gave great satisfaction to Innocent ;

Innocent
congratu-
lates Otho,
Jan. 16,
1209.

¹ Ep. 153, *c.* July 1208. He attributes a Roman rising that happened about this time to Philip's agency. *Cf. supra*, p. 83.

² *Ib.* *Cf.* epp. 161-2. *Cf.* 160, where Otho acknowledges his debt to Innocent. "Quod hactenus fuimus, quod sumus aut erimus, quantum ad regni pertinet promotionem, totum vobis et Ecclesiæ Romanæ post Deum debentes quod et gratantissime recognoscimus." He begs the Pope to work for his election, and tells him that the great ones of the Empire have sent him assurances of their loyalty to him. In ep. 169 the Pope shows himself ready to grant the necessary dispensation to enable Otho to marry Philip's daughter Beatrice. *Cf.* ep. 178.

³ Ep. 155, *R. I.*

⁴ *Chron. reg. Col., cont. II.*, p. 183 ; *ib., cont. III.*, p. 227. Innocent speaks : "De promotione, quinimo quasi de confirmatione promotionis . . . regis Ottonis." Ep. 172, December 5. *Cf.* epp. 173 ff. ; Otto of St. Blaise, cc. 50, 51 ; Arnold, *Chron. Slav.*, vii. 13, 14.

nor did he fail often to share his satisfaction with Otho. "We have," he wrote, "been credibly informed that with the increase of temporal power which has come to you, an increase of spiritual power has also been wonderfully added unto you, so that we may, in your regard, congratulate ourselves, in the words of God, that we have found a man after our own heart. Our soul, most beloved son, is so united to yours, and your heart so welded to ours, that it is believed that our thoughts and wishes on all points are the same, as though we had but one heart and one soul. What great advantages are expected to follow from this union the pen cannot set down, nor the tongue narrate, nor even the mind imagine. For to us two has the rule of the world been chiefly committed; and if we remain united in good, then indeed, as the prophet said, will the sun and moon remain fixed in their orbits, then will the crooked paths be made straight and the rough ways plain, since, with the blessing of God, nothing will be able to oppose us, inasmuch as we shall hold the two swords." He concludes by most earnestly exhorting Otho to preserve at all costs the existing concord between the Church and the Empire, and by informing him that he is again sending to him Cardinals Ugolino and Leo.¹

Even after Otho's final election Innocent did not cease his efforts in his behalf. For instance, at the request of Otho's legate in Italy, Wolfger of Aquileia, he wrote in February to the cities of Lombardy and Tuscany urging them to offer due submission "to the illustrious King Otho,

The cities
of Italy
submit to
Otho, 1209.

¹ Ep. 179, January 16, 1209. Cf. epp. 180-1, to the hierarchy of Germany on the same subjects. In the latter letter he is specially concerned with the marriage question of Otho and Beatrice. The Pope grants the required dispensation "si urgens necessitas et evidens utilitas pro pace in imperio reformanda hujusmodi matrimonium contrahi postularint."

Roman emperor-elect."¹ And when Otho himself expressed his fear to him that Frederick of Sicily was scheming against him, and begged him not to help the youth, seeing that "the peace of the Empire . . . as heretofore rested with him,"² Innocent assured him that he was fast fixed in his good graces, and that he must not doubt of him.³

Otho descends into Italy for the imperial crown, 1209.

Meanwhile Otho was taking steps to receive the imperial crown. At a great diet of the Empire which he held in Lent at Hagenau, notice was given to the princes to prepare for the "Rome-journey."⁴

Then a little later, at Spire (March 22), he took a solemn oath regarding his intentions towards the Holy See. In gratitude to God who had raised him to be king, he wished, so he declared, to show great honour (*decrevimus magnifice honorare*) to Him, to His vicar, and to His spouse the Church. Then after offering "all the obedience" which his predecessors had paid to those of the Pope, he proceeded to guarantee freedom of ecclesiastical elections, and the right of ecclesiastical appeals to Rome; to give up the *jus spoli*, and all interference in spiritual matters, so that what was Cæsar's might be rendered to Cæsar, and what was God's might be rendered to God. He also undertook to help to root out heresy, and to see that the possessions of the Roman Church, including "the territory of the Countess Matilda" and the kingdom of Sicily, were secured to it.⁵ This

¹ Ep. 175, February 25, 1209. They had already offered him the keys of their cities, and many presents. Cf. Otto of St. Blaise, c. 50.

² Ep. 187, *R. I.*

³ Ep. 188, March 10, 1209.

⁴ Otto of St. Blaise, c. 51.

⁵ "Ad has [viz., the possessions of the Roman Church] pertinet tota terra quæ est a Radicofano usque Ceperanum, marchia Anconitana, ducatus Spoletanus, terra comitissæ Mathildis, comitatus Britenorii (sic), exharcatus Ravennæ, Pentapolis, cum aliis adjacentibus terris expressis in multis privilegiis imperatorum . . . a tempore Ludovici." Ep. 189, *R. I.* Cf. Reiner (who lets us know he was in

oath was a solemn ratification of the promises he had made at Neuss, and which Frederick II. was to make at Egra (1213).

On May 24, a still more important assembly was held at Würzburg in presence of Innocent's legates, Cardinals Ugolino and Leo. At this gathering, at which were present nearly all the spiritual and temporal magnates of the Empire, after the transaction of the business of the State, Otho addressed the assembly, "especially the cardinals who were present by the authority of the Apostolic Lord,"¹ on the subject of his marriage with Beatrice, who was related to him within the forbidden degrees of kindred. He wished to know whether he might lawfully take her to wife. "For if," he declared, "I were to live six thousand years, I would rather lead a celibate life all that time than marry at the peril of my soul. Let then none of you think of the glory or nobility of birth, or riches, or lands of this maid, for all these things cannot be compared with the salvation of the soul." After due deliberation the answer of the magnates was made known to Otho by Leopold, duke of Austria, a man remarkable for his eloquence. He assured the king that this assembly of "cardinals, who bring the authority of the lord Pope," and of great prelates and princes were decidedly of opinion that the peace of "the Roman world" required that he should marry Beatrice, and recommended him, in view of the dispensation, to found two great monasteries.² The king at once accepted the

Otho takes
a wife.

Rome in 1208), *Ann.*, 1209, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. p. 662. Otho "juravit quod bona illa non repeteret quæ idem apostolicus tempore dissensionis, regum occupaverat et possiderat." This oath, continues the historian, "potitus plenitudine honoris sui . . . pro nichilo reputavit."

¹ "Rogamus . . . primo cardinales, qui de auctoritate sive consilio d. apostolici adestis." Arnold, *Chron. Slav.*, vii. c. 17. The cardinals came to grant the dispensation "ut securius (Otho) potiretur regno." Reiner, *Annal.*, an. 1209, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. p. 662. ² *Ib.*

decision, and the maiden was asked whether she would take Otho as her husband. Thereupon, "blushing deeply," says the historian, "she modestly replied that she was very happy to give her consent."¹ Then was she solemnly espoused to him "by the sign of a kiss in public, and the exchange of rings";² and when Otho had seated her between the two cardinals whose throne (*quorum cathedra*) was opposite to his, he proclaimed aloud to the whole company: "You have a Queen: pay to her becoming honour."³ The solemn espousals were over; but the marriage was not to be celebrated till Otho's return from Italy.

As very usual on such occasions, the feudatories assembled at Augsburg for the "Rome-journey." The crossing of the Alps by the Brenner Pass was begun "about the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin" (August 15), and by September 1 Otho was in the neighbourhood of Bologna.⁴ Whilst, "with a terrible army," he was marching south, envoys were constantly passing backwards and forwards between himself and the Pope,⁵ in order to settle the final details of the coronation.

Although even the presence of Otho did not cause the cities of north Italy to cease altogether from their cruel and bitter strife, still his powerful army caused them at least not to attempt to molest him. "At his terrible

¹ Otto of St. Blaise, c. 51. "Verecundata admodum ruboreque perfusa, se libenti animo consentire profitetur."

² "Per manus cardinalium lege Francorum regi Ottoni desponsatur, a quo . . . publici signo osculi mutationeque annulorum subarratur." *Ib.* To this day in Germany both husband and wife wear wedding rings.

³ Arnold, *l.c.*

⁴ "Cum exercitu forti et glorioso montes magnos transivimus . . . processuri ad vos ut recipiamus a manu vestra benedicta benedictionem et consecrationem diadematis imperialis," wrote Otho to the Pope, c. August 1209. Cf. Tolosan, *Chron.*, c. 131.

⁵ Cf. epp. 190-1, *R. I.*

approach," says a monk of Padua, "Italy shook with fear."¹

It was in the hill town of Viterbo, strong with its towers and beautiful with its palaces, that Otho looked upon the Pope's face which he had so long desired to see,² and that Innocent greeted the man for whom he had done so much with the words: "My most beloved son, in thee does my heart find its delight" (September).³ Elaborate fêtes were held in honour of the king, and we read of a body of youths forming themselves into "the Company of Joy," and celebrating the festival of the tree of fortune in the Piazza of St. Sylvester.⁴

After Otho had on this occasion also renewed his promises to the Pope,⁵ the latter made his way to Rome to prepare for the coronation. The king followed with his army, now reinforced with a large number of Lombards, and encamped on Monte Mario (October 2). Thence he issued the usual safe-conduct guaranteeing security of life and limb to all attending the coronation ceremony.⁶ But neither he nor the Pope could guarantee the Romans, who, perhaps because they had not been consulted in any way regarding the imperial coronation, showed themselves very hostile to Otho and his followers. Just before the coronation a number of Germans, some of them men of position, ventured into the city proper to

The
coronation
of Otho,
1209.

¹ *Mon. Patav. Chron.*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, viii. p. 667; or, as *Annal. S. Justinæ Patavini*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xix.

² "Desiderium . . . jamdiu in corde nostro conceptum . . . nunc est adimpletum, videlicet quod faciem vestram vidimus desideratam," wrote Otho to the Pope, October 1209, ep. 193, *R. I.*

³ *Catal. pont. Rom. Viterb.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxii. p. 352.

⁴ *Chron. Viterb.*, an. 1209, ap. *Archivio Rom. di storia pat.*, xxiv. (1901), p. 233.

⁵ *Chron. S. Petri Erford.*, an. 1209, p. 208. Cf. Robert of Auxerre, *Chron.*, an. 1209, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxvi. p. 273; Reiner, *Annal.*, 1209, ap. *ib.*, xvi. p. 662; William the Breton, *Gesta Philippi*, c. 157.

⁶ Ep. 192, *R. I.*

see its sights. A quarrel soon ensued between them and the citizens, which resulted in the death of many high officials of the diocese of Augsburg.¹

The great day to which Otho had been looking forward for so many years arrived at last (Sunday, October 4), and he entered the Leonine city at the head of a most imposing host. A body of Milanese was straightway despatched to hold the bridge of St. Angelo so that there would be no danger of an armed interruption of the ceremony by the Romans.² Meanwhile, by a constant scattering of money to the right and left, and by a free use of their pikes by the accompanying soldiers, the royal procession was able to make its way through the dense crowd to the old basilica.³ Arrived immediately in front of it, Otho took the usual oath to be the protector of the Church and the poor, and was then duly crowned with the solemn ceremonies which have been described elsewhere.⁴ When the function was over, the new emperor helped the Pope to mount his horse, and the two rode in great state to the adjoining Vatican palace,⁵ where, through the munificence of the emperor, rich and poor alike were well provided for.⁶

The day, however, was not to be allowed to close in peace, but was, as usual on these occasions, to end in bloodshed. Whether it was because the Germans

¹ "Interfectique sunt quidam ministeriales nobiles de Augustensi diocesi." Burchard, *Chron. Urspergen.*, p. 91.

² Reiner, *Ann.*, l.c.

³ Arnold, *Chron. Slav.*, vii. 19.

⁴ Otto of St. Blaise, c. 52. Cf. *supra*, vol. x. p. 392 ff.

⁵ Arnold, *ib.* "Cum igitur ventum fuisset ad equos, imperator non immemor apostolice reverentie que exhibenda est ipsorum vicario . . . Innocentio, strepam ipsius devote apprehendit."

⁶ According to the Icelandic abbot Arngrim in his *Life* of Bishop Gudmund, Otho, at the official banquet that took place on this occasion, already began to show himself dissatisfied with the oath he had taken relative to the possessions of the Holy See—*i.e.*, regarding the inheritance of Matilda; c. 23, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxix. p. 415.

wantonly insulted the Romans, or because the emperor would not give them largess, or for both these and other reasons,¹ at any rate the Romans fell upon the imperialists when they were leaving the Leonine city and a furious fight ensued. The imperialists suffered heavily, losing, besides a number of men, some eleven hundred horses and baggage as well.²

It was the contemplation of scenes such as this that made Otho's marshal, Gervase of Tilbury, say bitter things about the Romans. Contrasting the Rome that once held the world in check with the one that in his time could not defend the small circuit of its own walls (*sua muralia*), he rails at it for being hostile to none more than to its own emperor, and, while wishing to have two lords, the Pope and the emperor, shutting out the one and despising the other.³

Although Innocent had much to arrange with the emperor, nevertheless, to prevent further bloodshed, he begged him to leave the neighbourhood of Rome at once.⁴ This, after the action of the Romans, he was

The emperor moves north.

¹ William the Breton, c. 157. He adds another reason for the hostilities, viz., Otho's declaration on this very day that he could not—whatever he had just sworn to the contrary—give up his rights to territories which had been in the hands of his predecessors for some time. "Significavit pape se non posse ei dimittere castra que ab antecessoribus suis aliquibus temporibus fuerant possessa."

² *Ib.*; Reiner, *Annal.*, an. 1209, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. According to Maurisius, *Hist. de gestis Eccelini de Romano*, 1183–1237, his hero distinguished himself considerably in this fight, ap. *R. I. SS.*, ix, p. 21. Gerard Maurisius, a judge of Vicenza, wrote, in a very imperialist spirit, the history of the doings of the infamous Ezzelino da Romano from 1182 to 1237. On the Guelf Azzos of Este and the Ghibelline Ezzelinos da Romano cf. Luchaire, iii. 214.

³ *Otia imperialia*, D. ii. c. 16, p. 931, ed. Leibnitz. Cf. *ib.*, c. 18, p. 941, where he points out that both to the Pope and to the emperor Rome is insolent: "utrique molesta, utrique cervicosa . . . et utrumque parvipendit."

⁴ *Annal. Ceccan.* (*Chron. Fōs. Nov.*), an. 1209.

not in the least disposed to do; but from his camp on Monte Mario he demanded reparation from the citizens. As this was not forthcoming, want of provisions forced him to withdraw towards Tuscany.

Soon after leaving Rome, perhaps from Isola Farnese, a medieval town, off the Via Cassia, some ten miles north-west of Rome, which he had certainly reached by October 7, Otto wrote to the Pope, "the vicar of God." He thanked him for conferring the imperial crown upon him, and begged him to grant him an interview in order that they might complete the discussions they had held on the affairs of the Empire. Moreover, he assured the Pope that, if necessary, he was ready to risk his life, and to seek an audience with him in the city itself.¹ But the Pope, fearful no doubt that, if he left Rome or if the emperor came again to it, there would be an upheaval, replied that for the present their business had better be conducted by intermediaries, and that, "regarding the land" (*de negotio vero terræ*), *i.e.*, regarding the territories of Matilda, it was for both of them to try and devise some settlement which both parties could accept with honour.²

Otho
violates his
engage-
ments.

Otho, however, showed himself not a skilful diplomatist, but what one of his adverse critics said he was, "a proud fool," or, as an English historian described him, "a man who would promise everything and hardly perform anything."³ He made no further attempt in conjunction with Innocent to unravel the Gordian knot of the Matilda inheritance, but drew his sword and essayed to cut it in his own interests.⁴ But for a month or two

¹ Ep. 193, *R. I.*

² Ep. 194, October 11, 1209. This is the last letter of the collection "*De negotio Romani imperii*."

³ Matthew Paris, *Hist. Anglor.*, an. 1209, ii. 117, R.S.

⁴ "Exaltatum est cor ejus, et summi Pontificis admonitionem sprexit," wrote the monk of Padua, *Chron.*, 1209, ap. *R. I. SS.*, viii. 667.

there was no overt quarrel between the two potentates, and Innocent wrote friendly letters to the emperor, begging him not to suffer the attempt of Waldemar II. of Denmark to convert the heathens to be interfered with (October 13),¹ and to help Simon de Montfort to subdue the Albigensians.²

It would seem, however, that very soon after Otho left Rome, and as he marched through Tuscany, the duchy of Spoleto,³ the march of Ancona and Romaniola,⁴ he began to act as though he were the immediate suzerain of those districts. His ambition was fired by men such as Dipold of Acerra, who, in order to improve his position, again changed sides, abandoned the cause of the Pope and the young Frederick, and joined the standard of Otho. At any rate, on January 20, at Chiusi, the emperor invested his relative Azzo of Este with the March of Ancona on the same terms as it had been held by Markwald.⁵ Moreover, what was much worse, he received about the same time a number of traitors from Apulia, headed by Dipold and Peter, count of Celano, who came to urge him to seize the kingdom of Sicily,⁶ and he resolved to act upon their suggestions. Then, to soothe his conscience, he turned like Barbarossa to the men of law, and from them he received comfort. The advice they gave him amounted to this: He was to neutralise the oaths he had taken to Innocent by the oath he had

¹ Ep. xii. 104.

² Ep. xii. 124, November 11, 1209.

³ He entered the duchy in the beginning of December 1209.

⁴ He was at Ravenna, February 28, 1210.

⁵ Böhmer-Ficker, *Reg. Imp.*, n. 348. He did not, however, succeed in attaching Azzo to him for any length of time.

⁶ *Chron. reg. Col., cont. II.*, an. 1210, p. 186. Otho's invasion of the kingdom of Sicily is attributed chiefly to Dipold and Peter, both by the anonymous Cistercian monk, *Chron.*, an. 1210, ed. Gaudenzi, p. 35, and by Ric. of S. Germ., an. 1210: "Otto tractus a Dyopaldo et Petro." In the month of March Dipold assumed the title "Magister capitaneus Apulie et Terre Laboris."

taken when made emperor to preserve the dignity of the Empire, and to maintain its rights.¹ Accordingly, when Innocent began to upbraid him for his perjury, and, by the agency of the archbishop of Pisa and others, to urge him to respect the rights of the Church,² he said in fact, if not in words: "If the Supreme Pontiff desires to possess unjustly the rights of the Empire, let him release me from the oath which he insisted on my taking when he consecrated me to the imperial dignity, the oath, that is, which I took to recover the alienated rights of the Empire, and to maintain those which I possessed."³

It was in vain that our countryman Gervase of Tilbury, whom Otho had made the marshal of the kingdom of Arles, urged him to behave in a straightforward manner towards "his consecrator," and implored him to yield something to the one who had given him "the whole Empire," even if he believed that there was a desire somewhat to lessen his imperial rights. "Moreover," added the marshal, "the Empire is not yours, it is Christ's; not yours, but Peter's." If, he impressed upon him in conclusion, "you do what is right," you will prevail in the end, even "by the just decision" of Peter himself.⁴ But Otho would listen neither to the counsels of moderation nor to the dictates of justice. He began to make preparations for war.

At Otho's perfidy, which is condemned practically by all his contemporaries of whatever shade of opinion,⁵

¹ Roger of Wendover, an. 1210. ² *Annal. Ceccan.*, an. 1209.

³ Roger, *l.c.* Cf. Otho's last letter to the Pope, ap. Böhmer, n. 440; and Hurter, ii. 318 ff.

⁴ *Otia imperialia*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxvii. p. 382. "Si credis in aliquo illum minuire velle tui jus imperii, cedas in modico ei qui totum in te contulit imperium."

⁵ The Englishman, it is true, says that Otho incurred the Pope's hatred without deserving it, but he does not show himself acquainted with the facts of the case.

the great heart of Innocent was filled with bitterness. In writing (March 4, 1210) to the archbishop of Ravenna and his suffragans of the ingratitude and perjury of Otho, he quoted as appropriate the words of God with regard to man in general: "it repented him that he had made (the) man" (Gen. vi. 6).¹

Resolved now to stop at nothing, Otho in the early summer called upon the cities of Lombardy to lend him armed assistance; and then, descending upon the *Patri-*
monium Petri, began to lay hands on its cities and castles.²

Otho pre-
pares to
invade
Sicily,
1210.

Meanwhile the unfortunate youth Frederick of Sicily felt that fresh trouble was in store for him,³ and accordingly sent envoys to Otho offering to give up his claim to the German crown, which had been bestowed upon him in his father's lifetime, and to pay the emperor a large sum of money, if he would leave him his Sicilian crown in peace. But the emperor, following, as the chroniclers often note, the evil advice of Dipold and Peter of Celano, entered the kingdom by way of Sora in the month of November, and rewarded the zeal of Dipold by naming him duke of Spoleto.⁴

¹ Ep. xiii. 120.

² Codagnellus, an. 1210. He tells of the contingent from Piacenza finding the emperor besieging Montefiascone: "deinde ivit per illas partes et multa loca cepit et destruxit." Cf. Reiner, *Ann.*, and *Ann. Staden.*, both an. 1210, and ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi., etc. Burchard, *Chron. Ursperg.*, p. 91, says: "contra juramentum . . . manu hostili cepit invadere terras S. Petri ad ecclesiam Romanam pertinentes." William the Breton, c. 157, adds: "Sicut dudum in animo conceperat, occupavit . . . fere totam Romaniam."

³ According to the *Annales Marbacenses*, an. 1210, Frederick might well be alarmed, for they assert that Otho meant "to exterminate him: ipsum Fridericum persequi et exterminare intendebat."

⁴ *Chron., contin. Admuntensis*, an. 1210, ap. *M. G. SS.*, ix. Cf. Ric. of S. G., and *Chron. mon. Cist.*, an. 1210. The *Ann. Marbac.*, l.c., wisely add that Otho "Pravo usus consilio, quia si statim post coronationem repatriasset, omnia in prosperum sibi cessissent."

Otho is
excom-
municated,
Nov. 1210.

Hitherto Innocent had confined himself to protesting against Otho's conduct, and to making vain efforts to induce him to stop his ambitious career. But when the emperor ventured to invade the kingdom of Sicily, and the Pope had reason to fear that he would be overwhelmed by the German if he were able to add the Sicilian to the imperial crown, he solemnly excommunicated him (November 18).¹ Then, seeing that Otho paid no heed whatever to his sentence, Innocent sent letters in different directions forbidding assistance to be given to the ungrateful monarch.² Otho retorted by endeavouring to cut off the Pope from intercourse with the outside world.³

Throughout the winter of 1210-11, whilst Otho was residing at Capua, Innocent ceased not endeavouring to bring him to a sense of his duty; and the historian Burchard⁴ assures us that he met at Rome about this time (1211) the virtuous abbot of Morimond (in the diocese of Langres), who told him that, in accordance with the orders of the Pope, he had already passed five times between Rome and Capua in order to effect an understanding between the two. One of the letters written by Innocent to the emperor just before his excommunication has come down to us, though not in the papal registers. The Pope upbraided Otho for his ingratitude; bade him be content with the territories he had inherited from his ancestors, lest the fate of Barbarossa, of Henry, and of Philip should overtake him also; and urged him, under threat of excommunication, not to

¹ His excommunication is noted by all the chroniclers, who universally acknowledge its justice: "meritam excommunicationis sententiam incurrit." *Ann. Marb., l.c.*

² Cf. ep. xiii. 193, December 22.

³ *Chron. reg. Col., cont. III.*, an. 1210, p. 230; William the Breton, c. 157.

⁴ *Chron. Ursperg.*, an. 1211, p. 93.

interfere with the rights of the Holy See, but to keep the oaths he had sworn to him.¹

A letter written apparently about this same time² by Innocent to the king of France shows how much he had been disappointed in his estimate of Otho's character, and what efforts he had made to avoid pronouncing sentence of excommunication. He began his letter by expressing a regret that he had not been as good a judge of Otho's character as Philip, and proceeded to point out how ungrateful the emperor had proved himself in attacking first his mother the Roman Church, and then her ward the orphan Frederick. Threats of excommunication had had no effect upon him. He had paid no heed to the Pope's declaration that he was preventing the prosecution of the war against the infidel. He was solely occupied with the idea of securing the goods of others, and of subjecting all the kings of the earth to his sway. The Pope had to acknowledge to his shame that the king of France had warned him of all this, and could only console himself with the thought that God Himself had regretted that He had made Saul king. He had, however, definitely forbidden him, under penalty of excommunication, to carry further forward his schemes of aggrandisement, and excommunication would mean the loss of the allegiance of his subjects. But when he had been exhorted to cease his opposition to France, he had replied that he could not do so whilst France held any portion of his uncle's territories. In conclusion, the

¹ Ep. ap. Potthast, 4133, or Böhmer, n. 439 f. It must have been written before Otho's excommunication, hence before November 18. Cf. ep. 32, *R. I.*, wherein as early as 1201 Innocent had urged Otho not to show himself ungrateful.

² Potthast, 4178. It would seem certain that this letter must also have been written before Otho's excommunication, though it appears to be dated February 1, 1211. Cf. Reiner, *Annales*, an. 1209, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. p. 663.

Pope assured Philip that he had made it plain to the emperor that he at any rate would never abandon France.

But all the Pope's efforts were useless, even though he had expressed his readiness to endure any injuries the emperor might inflict on the territories of the Roman Church, if he would abandon the Sicilian expedition.¹ Otho was resolved "to expel Frederick from Sicily, and to take vengeance on Philip of France," who had opposed him all along, and was at enmity with his uncle King John.²

Finding that Otho was obstinate, and, now master of the mainland, was making active preparations to invade Sicily itself, Innocent, "inasmuch as he was a man of spirit, and had great trust in God,"³ devoted his whole energy to procuring the deposition of his ungrateful ally. Among other steps which he took with this intent was to cause the solemn proclamation throughout Germany of the emperor's excommunication (March 31).⁴ He also wrote for help to Otho's constant enemy, Philip of France, exhorting him to stir up the princes of the Empire against their excommunicated sovereign.⁵

¹ Burchard, *ib.* "Ne tanta turbatio fieret in ecclesiis et populo christiano, voluit d. Papa sustinere omne dampnum quod sibi imperator in terris ecclesiæ Romanæ intulisset aut inferret."

² *Ib.*

³ *Ib.*

⁴ *Ann. Marbac.*, 1211. Cf. a marginal note to the *Gesta archiepisc. Magdeburg.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xiv. pp. 419-21, and Tolosan, *Chron.*, c. 134, who adds that Otho was excommunicated in the interests of the young Frederick, who had been placed under the protection of the Holy See both "by his father and by his mother."

⁵ Cf. Philip's reply, by which we know of the Pope's letter, ap. L. Delisle, *Catalogue des actes de Philippe-Auguste*, p. 517 f., Paris, 1856. From this reply it appears that the German princes wanted an assurance from the Pope that he would not come to terms with Otho, would absolve them from the oaths of allegiance which they had taken to Otho, and would give them permission to elect another emperor. Philip himself advised the Pope to force the clergy to pay

But still all went well with Otho. Even to the extremity of Calabria was his authority acknowledged, and the young King Frederick had a galley ready moored by his palace at Palermo to convey him to the Saracens if Otho should cross the straits (August 1211).¹

But the energy of Innocent kept pace with that of Otho. He lost no opportunity of encouraging the emperor's enemies and of weakening his friends. On the one hand, he threatened the Bolognese, among other penalties, with the removal of their famous schools to some other centre, if they continued to favour Otho,² and, under threat of deposition, he forced such prelates as Archbishop Albert of Magdeburg to publish the emperor's excommunication;³ and, on the other hand,

him a third of their revenues, and he himself promised to give the Pope a third part of certain taxes: "Nos quoque similiter terciam partem serviciorum, sicut dictum est, que nobis debent libenter ponemus quamdiu negocium durabit."

¹ "Dum ad Saracenos fugere aspirabat, habens galeam ad hoc juxta suum palatium præparatam, eo quod Otto Cæsar regno Apuliæ occupato disponebat Fari amne transmisso in Siciliam transfretare." Cf. Albert von Behaim, known as the Bohemian (Albertus Bohemus), though by birth a Bavarian. He had been a lawyer in the Roman Curia under Innocent III. and Honorius III., and then became the most vigorous of the papal legates employed by Gregory IX. and Innocent IV. against Frederick II. in Germany (1239-1253). He died in 1259. He made a collection of documents, letters of Frederick II. and of Innocent IV., etc., concerning his mission. This collection, known as *Missivbuch*, is of great importance. It has been published by C. Höfler, Stuttgart, 1847, under the title: *Albert von Beham und Regesten P. Innocenz IV.* He says of himself, ap. *ib.*, p. 144, in a letter: "Tempore Innocentis *magni*, ac postmodum temporibus d. Honorii P. in Romana curia, in qua tunc fuimus de majoribus curiæ advocatis." The "*river* Farus" (Pharos) was the name then given to the Straits of Messina. "Within" and "without" the Pharos denoted the mainland and the island of the kingdom of Sicily. Innocent himself often uses the term, *e.g.*, ep. 56, *R. I.*

² Ep. xiv. 79. "Quod si nec sic [through the other penalties] duxeritis resistendum, scholas de ipsa faciant civitate transferri."

³ *Gesta archiepisc. Magdeburg*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xiv. pp. 419-20.

he fostered the opposition which was growing against him in Germany.

Otho
declared
deposed, c.
Nov. 1211.

When Otho had been under the ban of the Church for a twelvemonth, as he had made no effort to be absolved from the censure,¹ he was treated in accordance with the recognised customs of the Empire. He was declared a heretic, his deposition from the imperial throne was proclaimed, and his subjects were absolved from their allegiance.² A strong letter, pointing out Otho's ingratitude, made this action of Innocent known to all the German princes. "Hence," he wrote, "have we absolved all Otho's subjects from their allegiance to him, or rather we have decided that they are already absolved from it." He called upon the princes to lose no time in providing a successor to the imperial throne, and, under the figure of Saul being replaced by the youthful David, no doubt suggested the substitution of Frederick for Otho.³

Election of
another
"king of
of the
Romans,"
1211.

Innocent's invitation to the princes was not made in vain. After some preliminary meetings, an important diet was held at Nuremberg, at which were present the king of Bohemia, the dukes of Austria and Bavaria, and many others. The thoughts of the electors immediately turned to the youthful Frederick of Sicily, whether because, as Burchard says, they had already sworn allegiance to

¹ *Ann. Marbac.*, an. 1212, p. 83: "Cum neque pro absolutione, nec pro compositione aliqua laboraret (Otto)," etc. William the Breton, c. 157.

² *Annal. contin. Claustro-neoburg.*, an. 1212, ap. *M. G. SS.*, ix. p. 621. According to *Contin. Admuntensis*, ap. *ib.*, Innocent, in his dealings with Otho regarding the Sicilian expedition, "de occulto consensu, et clandestina subscriptione ac legatione episcoporum totius Alemannie roboratus." Cf. *infra*, "instinctu predictorum episcoporum." Cf. also the next note.

³ Potthast, 4213. The letter here quoted is undated, and we have referred it to the close of 1211. Cf. Hurter, ii. 357, for a fuller extract from this important letter.

him,¹ or because he was supposed to be the papal candidate, and had the support of Philip of France. By these nobles also Otho was proclaimed "a heretic," and they chose Frederick as the one who was "to be consecrated emperor."² The assembled princes at once despatched envoys to secure the adhesion of the Lombards, of Innocent, and of Frederick himself to their proposals. There was not much difficulty in winning over a number of the Lombard communes, and, despite the opposition of his wife Constance, who had just borne him a son and heir, Frederick accepted the invitation of the princes, and declared his intention of at once proceeding to Germany.³ The Pope, however, according to a contemporary French historian, did not allow himself to be easily persuaded to recognise a Hohenstaufen. "Although," writes William the Breton,⁴ "Innocent had really wanted Frederick's election, still he dissembled his satisfaction; for the Roman Church is ever wont to proceed with gravity, and not to make new concessions except with difficulty and deliberately. Moreover, he thoroughly disliked the stock from which Frederick was descended."

Civil war now broke out all over the Empire, especially in Germany, and Otho's friends urged him to return to that country instead of attacking Sicily.⁵ After a belated attempt to negotiate with the Pope, Otho hurried to the

Otho re-
turns to
Germany,
1212.

¹ "Fridericum regem Siciliae elegerunt in imperatorem coronandum, cui etiam olim, cum adhuc in cunis esset, juraverant fidelitatem." An. 1210, p. 92, ed. *in usum schol.* Cf. *Chron. S. Petri Erford. mod.*, an. 1211.

² *Ib.*; William the Breton, c. 158. The princes chose Frederick "as old in character though young in years," and as "great in mind if small in stature." Cf. the election decree, ap. H.-B., i. p. 195 ff.

³ *Ib.*, i.e., *Chron. S. Pet.* Cf. Ricciardi († 1253) *comitis S. Bonifacii, vita*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, viii. p. 123 f.

⁴ *Gesta*, c. 158.

⁵ Codagnel, an. 1212; Ric. of S. Germ., an. 1211; *Ann. Ceccan.*, 1211.

north, crossed the Alps in March 1212,¹ and—"a burden to the Italians, still more so to the Germans, and ungrateful to his friends"—received but a poor welcome in Germany.²

But Otho's Italian partisans were furious with Innocent. The author of the *Carmen de Ottone*, which we have already quoted more than once, proclaims the Pope not *innocent*, but *nocent* (injurious), calls him not "the Apostolic" (*Apostolicus*), but "the Apostate" (*Apostaticus*); and, what is most interesting, anticipates the cry of later ages, and appeals to a "General Council against Frederick, against you and against the enemies of the Roman name." The poem concludes by the assertion of the "Council" thus invoked that it is not in its power to depose the Pope, but that it is just that it should depose Frederick, and restore Otho.³

Frederick
in Rome,
1212.

Soon after Otho had left Italy, the young Frederick arrived in Rome (April). He was splendidly received both by the Pope and by the Roman people.⁴

One of the first acts of Frederick was to renew to the Pope in person the homage he had already paid to his deputy for the kingdom of Sicily.⁵ Innocent, charmed with the youth's courage and docility, espoused his cause with vigour. By letter he called upon the communes of north Italy and the people of Germany to cast in their

¹ *Ann. Marbac.*, an. 1212; Ric., *l.c.*; Reiner, *Ann.*, 1212, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. p. 664.

² "Gravis Italicis, Alamanis gravior, suis ingratus." Conrad de Fabaria, *Casus S. Galli*, c. 8, ap. *M. G. SS.*, ii. Otho was especially disliked by the Suabians whom he had injured "tam feodis quam consuetudinalibus justiciis." *Ib. Cf. Ann. Austriae, cont. Lamb.*, sub an. 1209, ap. *M. G. SS.*, ix. p. 557.

³ P. 532, ed. Leibnitz.

⁴ Codag., an. 1212; *Mon. Cisterc.*, 1212; Ric. of S. G., an. 1211, p. 77, ed. Gaudenzi; William the Breton, c. 158.

⁵ See ep. Inn. IV., July 17, 1245, ap. H.-B., vi. pt. i. p. 319 ff. For Frederick's previous engagements, by which he renewed the undertakings of his mother Constance, *cf. ib.*, i. p. 200 ff.

lot with Frederick; he poured money into the youth's purse, procured for him a Genoese fleet to conduct him to their city, and sent a cardinal-legate with him to win for him greater obedience.¹

Innocent has been severely blamed by many authors for his support of Frederick. His action, they say, brought about the disastrous struggle between the Empire and the Papacy, the intrusion of the house of Anjou into the affairs of Italy, the Sicilian vespers, and the "captivity" of Avignon. It is quite possible that none of these unhappy events would have happened had Innocent not taken up the cause of Frederick; but it must be allowed also that, if the Pope was justified in opposing the perjured Otho, there was no other prince who had more right to succeed him than Frederick, nor was there any other who could have had any hope of taking his place except Frederick, and Innocent could scarcely have foreseen that Frederick would be guilty of the monstrous ingratitude that he afterwards displayed.²

From Genoa, where he had been splendidly entertained,³ Frederick made his way across the Lombard plain escorted by Azzo, marquis of Este, and other nobles devoted to his cause. His journey was hazardous, because Milan and other communes, though usually devoted to the Church, had suffered too much from Barbarossa to tolerate another

Frederick enters Germany, 1212.

¹ *Ann. Marbac.*, an. 1212. Through the loss of Innocent's Register for 1212, his letters relating to these events have not reached us. Cf. *Ann. Ceccan.*, 1212; Codagnellus, an. 1212, pp. 39-41; Ogerii, *Ann. Genuenses*, 1212, p. 403, ed. *R. I. SS.*, vi.; William the Breton, c. 158; Conrad de Fabaria, *Casus S. Galli*, c. 8. "Cui (Frederick) per papam multæ civitates accesserunt Italiæ." *Ann. Stadenses*, 1212, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. p. 355.

² This apology for Innocent was long ago offered by Salimbene, *Chron.*, an. 1216, p. 31. "Excusari potest I. p., quia bona intentione Octonem deposuit et Fridericum exaltavit."

³ Frederick afterwards showed himself ungrateful to the Genoese. Cf. Kington, i. p. 135.

Hohenstaufen.¹ Fortune, however, favoured Frederick. The "boy from Sicily" escaped the snares of his enemies in Italy, contrived by dangerous paths to cross the Alps and to avoid the troops of Otho, and finally reached Constance in safety (September).² After this successful beginning, difficulties melted away before the enterprising Sicilian youth. Otho had to fall back on his Saxon fief, and to watch Frederick making an alliance offensive and defensive with Philip of France, and binding fast to himself the venal princes of Germany with money which he received from the French monarch.³

Elected
king.

On December 5, at Frankfort, Frederick was proclaimed emperor-elect by a very large number of princes in presence of the envoys of the Pope and of the king of France and some five thousand knights.⁴ Four days after he was crowned at Mainz by its archbishop.

Decline of
Otho's
power till
his death
in 1218.

Through the efforts of Innocent⁵ especially, the position of Otho grew daily worse, and he was soon compelled to retire to Brunswick. In 1214 he made a desperate attempt to retrieve his fortunes by allying himself with our miserable King John, and in conjunction with a number of English and Flemings attacking Philip of France. His defeat at Bouvines (July 27, 1214) put an end to the remnant of his power.

¹ Ep. xv. 189, *cf.* 122. *Cf. Ricciardi vita*, p. 124, ap. *R. I. SS.*, viii.

² "Puer de Sicilia," as Codagnellus calls him, *Chron.*, an. 1212; *Chron. de rebus in Italia*, an. 1212, p. 147, ed. H.-B.; Burchard, pp. 93, 101. Frederick enters Germany "cum favore d. Pape et regis Francie et majore parte Italie": Reiner, *Annales*, 1212, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. p. 665.

³ *Ann. Marbac.*, 1212; Burchard, pp. 101-2; William the Breton, c. 159; *Chron. S. Petri Erford. mod.*, an. 1213, p. 212, ed. Holder-Egger. *Cf.* H.-B., i. 227.

⁴ Reiner, *Ann.*, *l.c.* *Cf.* a letter of certain German bishops to Philip of France, ap. H.-B., i. 230.

⁵ See his letter of April 6, 1213, to the barons of Apulia, "videntes Otonis . . . nequitiam," to rally round Frederick. Ap. *Das Briefbuch* of Thomas of Gaëta, p. 70 f.

If we are not relying merely on Gallic imagination, both Philip and Otho made much use of the name of the Pope before this important battle. According to William the Breton,¹ Philip thus addressed his soldiers: "Our whole trust is in God. Otho and his soldiers have been excommunicated by the lord Pope, for they are enemies of the Church, on whose possessions they are living. But we are Christians in communion with the Church, whose liberties we will defend to the best of our power." Otho, on the other hand, is declared to have spoken to his men to this effect: "It is only the king of France who prevents us from subduing the whole world. It is through his protection of the clergy that the Pope dares to anathematise us, and has dethroned (*exheredare*) King John, who has been so liberal to us. The king of France therefore must we kill first . . . and afterwards we must kill or exile the clergy and monks whom he protects. Then shall the soldiers have their property."²

The battle of Bouvines was fatal to Otho; for, says an historian, "all the princes of Germany who had hitherto adhered to him, regarding his cause as desperate, joined themselves to Frederick."³

Next year Otho saw his rival crowned a second time at Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle) in 1215, and then, soon

¹ *Gesta*, c. 184.

² Philippidos, x., line 563 ff. How little likely it was that Otho spoke in this crude manner may be gathered from the unrestrained language cited below. Still, on the subject of the clergy, he is supposed to have said:

"Qui frustra vivunt, quorum labor omnis in hoc est
Ut Baccho Venerique vacent, quibus inflat obesis
Crapula colla torris, oneratque abdomine ventres?"

Ib., line 629 ff.

We have abridged the speeches of both monarchs.

³ *Gesta Abb. Trud.*, *contin.* III., ap. *M. G. SS.*, x. p. 393.

afterwards, beheld him master of Cologne. He failed to get his excommunication removed by the great council of Lateran held in the same year,¹ and continued to drag out an inglorious existence in Brunswick, after the claims of "the emperor of the priests" had been recognised by the synod and by the world at large.

Before he died, however, he several times sent envoys to Rome to effect a reconciliation with the Church, but, as he would not comply with the conditions laid down for his absolution, he remained under the ban of the Church almost till the day of his death. But when, after the Easter of 1218, he felt that his last hour was come, he sent for the bishop of Hildesheim and consulted him as to how he was to obtain absolution. In accordance with the instructions of the bishop, he swore to abide by the decisions of the Pope, and was then absolved. "Then," says a chronicler of Cologne, "having made his will and confessed his sins, he received Holy Communion and Extreme Unction, and with great contrition of heart died in his castle of Harzburg (May 19). His body, clad in the imperial robes, was translated to Brunswick and buried near those of his father and mother in the church of St. Blaise."² Otho IV. was nothing but a warrior, who understood neither his own limitations nor the strength of the forces opposed to him. The old Cistercian chronicler summed up his life's work very well when he said of him that "in not regarding horns

¹ Ric. of S. Germ., an. 1215, pp. 90 and 93 f., ed. Gaudenzi. "In contemptum Romane ecclesie regem vel imperatorem Fredericum appellavit regem presbiterorum."

² *Chron. reg. Colon., cont. III.*, an. 1218, p. 246. Cf. *ib.*, *cont. II.*, p. 195. According to Thomas of Tuscan (Gesta imp., ap. M. G. SS., xxii. 509), the repentant emperor ordered his bones to be carried to the feet of the Pope, that in death, at least, he might communicate with him. The worthy Thomas also mentions "as a report" (*dicatur*) that after he had been excommunicated "he always ate alone and seated on the ground."

as enough for him, he lost his ears also like the little ass in the fable."¹

It remains for us now to examine the relations between his great rival, the youthful Frederick, and Pope Innocent after his entry into Germany, to the latter's death in 1216. During the period whilst he was still faced with Otho, he was ever striving to render himself acceptable to the Pope. Knowing how Innocent was devoted to the Crusaders, he unexpectedly took the Cross on the occasion of his coronation at Aachen (1215), and encouraged others to do the same.² Before that, as early as July 12, 1213, at Egra in Bohemia, he had made a series of declarations which must have been most satisfactory to Innocent. In a document in which he acknowledged the many great blessings he had received from God and from "his most dear lord and most reverend father and protector the lord Innocent,"³ he announced that he wished to give to his special mother the Roman Church all "the obedience, honour, and reverence" which his predecessors had ever given to it, and even more. He granted freedom of ecclesiastical elections and appeals; gave up the custom of seizing the goods of deceased prelates; promised help against heretics to the Roman Church, and resigned to it the property which had been usurped by his predecessors and which she had recovered; engaged himself to restore

Conces-
sions of
Frederick
to the
Pope,
1213-16.

¹ *Mon. cist. Chron.*, an. 1212. William the Breton, c. 158, commenting on the fall of Otho, notes: "Digna res memoria, quod omnis qui intendit ecclesiam Dei deprimere, in brevi dejicitur!"

² *Chron. reg. Colon.*, cont. III., an. 1215, p. 236. Cf. William the Breton, c. 209; and Reiner, *Ann.*, 1215: "ex insperato signum vivifice crucis accepit."

³ He speaks of the "immensa et innumera beneficia" which he had received from Innocent "per cuius benefitium et tutelam aliti sumus." The golden bull of Fred. II., ap. Böhmer, n. 705 f., or H.-B., i. p. 268 ff. Cf. the oath of Fred., ap. H.-B., i. p. 272. The "terra comitisse Mathildis" is included in the possessions of the Roman Church.

what she had not recovered, and to defend for the Roman Church Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia, and the other rights recognised to be hers. These concessions were made, as the document proclaimed, in order that, all cause of misunderstandings being removed, "there might ensue for all time firm peace and complete agreement between the Church and the Empire." This bull was signed by all the great magnates of the Empire, both ecclesiastical and civil. Nor was it merely signed by them, it was confirmed by special documents issued by each of them.¹

A few days before Innocent's death, Frederick issued another golden bull of the utmost importance (July 1, 1216), concerning which there had doubtless been many negotiations with the Pope from the time when Frederick was first called to the Empire. By this bull, addressed to his "father and lord" by Frederick, "by the grace of God and the Pope king of the Romans, ever Augustus and king of Sicily," the latter engaged, when he should have received the imperial crown, to hand over Sicily to his son Henry, "whom at your behest we caused to be crowned king."² This he did, so the bull declared, in order "that at no time might any suspicion of a union between the kingdom and the Empire arise . . . by which any harm might come to the Apostolic See and to our heirs."³ Had Frederick only been true to his word, what trouble would he have saved the Church and himself, and what misfortunes would he have averted from his heirs!

¹ H.-B., i. 319, analyses the decree of Louis of Bavaria given at Worms, October 6, 1214.

² "Emancipemus (Henricum) a patria potestate, ipsumque regnum Sicilie tam ultra pharum quam citra penitus relinquamus ab Ecclesia Romana tenendum." See the deed, ap. H.-B., i. p. 469 f.; or ap. Doeberl, *Mon. Germ. Select.*, sect. 5, p. 29 f.

³ "Ne forte . . . aliquid unionis regnum ad imperium quovis tempore putaretur habere . . . per quod tam Apostolicæ Sedi quam heredibus nostris aliquod posset dispendium generari." H.-B., *ib.*

It is doubtful whether Innocent ever saw this gratifying proof of the success of his efforts to prevent evil from arising from his advocacy of Frederick's claims to the Empire. He died within a few days after the issue of the bull, which Frederick confirmed (February 10), in the very year (1220)¹ in which he caused his son to be elected king of the Romans (*c.* April 23).² He certainly did not live to see, probably not even to suspect, that the ward for whom he had done so much would prove the most merciless foe of the Papacy, and would for thirty years wage the most relentless war on the Church of Christ.

¹ *Ib.*, p. 740. Cf. p. 741 for Frederick's notification of this act to Pope Honorius.

² *Ib.*, p. 765; and documents, ap. Doeberl, *l.c.*, pp. 31 ff. and 35 ff.



A coin of the Emperor Frederick II., struck at Bergamo.
An incised gem, showing a portrait of Frederick II.
An Augustalis of Frederick II.

BOOK III.

THE EAST. THE CRUSADES. THE CAPTURE OF CONSTANTINOPLE. ORGANISATION OF THE CHURCH AND THE STATE IN THE NEW LATIN KINGDOM OF CONSTANTINOPLE. THE EAST OF EUROPE. ARMENIA, ETC.

Sources.—In addition to the letters and *Gesta* of Innocent, we have the *Histoire de la conquête de Constantinople*, by the marshal of Champagne, Geoffroi de Vill-Hardouin,¹ one of the leaders of the Fourth Crusade, who afterwards became marshal of Romania. Towards the close of his life, when residing in his fief of Messinopolis in Thrace, he wrote or dictated in old French an account of the Fourth Crusade up to the death of Boniface of Montferrat (1207). The work of the marshal, though not so completely disingenuous in its selection of materials as it is unaffectedly simple in its style, is assuredly fine enough to justify the title which has been given him of the Father of French prose history.² As one of those responsible for the diversion of the Crusade from its original purpose, he is inclined to be silent about matters disagreeable to his colleagues. Very little is said of the strenuous opposition of the Pope to their doings, and there is no mention of the excesses of the Crusaders when they finally took Constantinople; but, on the contrary, he has always praise for the Venetians who took advantage of the difficulties of the Crusaders to use them for their own ends. Henri de Valenciennes, who con-

¹ 1153 and 1213 may be given as the approximate dates of his birth and death.

² Cf. G. Paris, *La Littérature Française au Moyen Âge*, p. 136 ff., Paris, 1905. The author notes with justice that Villehardouin speaks "avec sincérité, bien qu'avec une tendance apologétique." In the *Memoirs of the Crusades* (Everyman's Library) Villehardouin will be found translated into English by Sir Frank Marzials, London, 1911.

tinued the recital of Geoffrey, though also an eye-witness of the events which he relates, is nothing like so graphic a writer. His history stops short in the reign of Henry of Flanders, the second Latin emperor of Constantinople (1215-1216). These two authors have been frequently edited. We shall use the version of Natalis de Wailly: *Texte rapproché du Française moderne et mis à portée de tous*, Paris, 1870.¹ Another old French account of the Fourth Crusade has been brought to light in modern times. It is *La prise de Constantinople*, by Robert de Clary, a Picard chevalier. As he says at the end of his book (c. 120): "Que chis qui i fu et qui le vit et qui l'oi le tesmongne Robers de Clari le chevaliers, et a fait metre en escrit le verite, si comme ele fu conquise." Being one of the "rank and file" of the Crusading army, he was not under the necessity of putting the conduct of the leaders and of the Venetians in a favourable light. Hence his work is a useful check on that of Geoffrey. He concludes his book with the mention of the death of the emperor Henry.² His history has been printed by C. Hopf in his *Chroniques Greco-Romanes*, Berlin, 1873.

Among the other miscellaneous pieces printed in this most valuable collection, is a better edition of the *Devastatio Constantinopolitana* than appears in vol. xvi. of the *M. G. SS.* as part of the *Annales Herbipolenses*. The brief *Devastatio* was written by an Italian eye-witness (cf. Tessier, p. 18 ff.), and is remarkable for chronological exactness. Under the title of *Chronista Novgorodensis*, Hopf has published an account of a Byzantine or Russian eye-witness of the capture of the city "guarded by God." It formed part of a Russian chronicle of Novgorod extending to the year 1444, and written by different authors. It is given by Hopf in a Latin translation.

Another valuable source for the romantic story of the seizure of Constantinople is the *De expugnatione urbis Constant.* (ap. *P. L.*, t. 212), by a writer already known to our readers, the

¹ There is an English translation by T. Smith, London, 1829.

² On *Robert de Clari*, see Rambaud, Caen, 1872, an extract from the *Mémoires de l'Académie . . . de Caen*. For the credit of the Crusaders, even Robert does not say much of their excesses at the fall of Constantinople, though he does allude to the "oribles pekies qu'il avoient fais en le chite, apres chou qu'il l'eurent prise," c. 112.

Cistercian monk Gunther of Pairis, in Alsace († c. 1210). He tells the story of the Fourth Crusade as he heard it from his abbot, Martin, who left the Crusaders at Zara for Palestine, but he returned to Europe in time to see the storming of Constantinople.

In the beginning of the thirteenth century the great work of William of Tyre on the Crusades was translated into French. To this translation additions were soon made. Among others who may be said to have added to William were Ernoul, thought to have been a squire of Balian d'Ibelin, one of the great barons of Syria, and Bernard the Treasurer, monk of Corbey. The latter was seemingly no more than an editor of Ernoul, as the Dominican Pipino¹ († after 1325) was his Latin translator. We use the edition of Ernoul's work published by Mas Latrie, Paris, 1871.

Among the Greek writers who have described the taking of Constantinople, the first place must be given to the Senator Nicetas Choniates († c. 1216), who, as a sufferer by the siege, does not forget to retaliate on his enemies by stinging words.²

In connection with the seizure of Constantinople and with the subsequent history of the Latins in the Byzantine Empire, reference may also be made to the Greek historical poem which is known as the *Chronicles of Morea*, and which in most copies goes down to 1292. It appears to have been drawn up in the fourteenth century and served as a source whence other accounts in other languages of the doings of the Latins in Greece were compiled; but it is not a first-rate historical document. Hopf (p. 414 ff) has published a fourteenth-century Italian version of the *Chronicles*, of which the best edition is that of J. Schmitt: *Chronicle of Morea*, London, 1904. We have had to use that of Buchon in his *Chroniques étrangères*, Paris, 1841.

¹ The 25th book of his Chronicle is more or less a Latin translation of Ernoul. It was published by Muratori separately under the title: "Bernardi Thesaurarii Liber Acquisitionis Terræ Sanctæ ab anno 1095-1230," ap. *R. I. SS.*, vii. p. 669 ff. Some believe that it was Ernoul's work which was also put into Latin by "the lord prior of Holy Trinity, London." Cf. Coggeshall, *De expug. terræ sanctæ*, p. 257, R.S.

² *Hist. Byzant.* (1118-1206), ed. Bekker, Bonn, 1835.

The Venetian Marino Sanudo the elder wrote (c. 1328) a valuable history of *Romania* (the Latin kingdom of Constantinople) in the first half of the fourteenth century. His work was soon afterwards translated into Italian, and this version has come down to us: *Istoria del regno di Romania*, ap. Hopf, p. 99 ff. The last authority which we shall here cite is the Catalan Ramon (Raymond) Muntaner, the biographer of Jayme I., and one of the leaders of the Catalan Company in the Levant. This picturesque chronicler appears to have died some time after the year 1330, about which year he began to write his work in the old Catalanian dialect. He tells of the struggles of the kings of Aragon against the house of Anjou for Sicily, as well as of the exploits of the Catalanian free-lance, Roger de Flor. The original Catalan version was edited by J. Corolen in 1886. Buchon (*loc. cit.*) has published a French translation of Raymond.

Riant has published in two vols., Geneva, 1877, under the title of *Exuvie sacræ Constantinopolitanæ*, a number of the less important documents which bear on the Fourth Crusade,—documents which by special details throw light on “l’histoire intime plutôt que l’histoire politique,” i. p. ccxxii.

The *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, with its addition of 1904, ed. Röhrich, Innsbruck, 1893, gives us the letters of Innocent regarding the Crusade.

Modern Works.—Very valuable are E. Pears, *The Fall of Constantinople*, London, 1885; *The Princes of Achaia*, by Sir R. Rodd, 2 vols., London, 1907; *The Latins in the Levant*, by W. Miller, London, 1908; and especially (for the purposes of this book) Luchaire (vol. iv.), *Innocent III. et la Question d’Orient*, Paris, 1907. See also Diane de Guldenchrone, *L’Achaïe féodale*, Paris, 1886; Schlumberger, *Les Principautés francs du Levant*, Paris, 1877; Brehier, *Les Croisades*, Paris, 1907; Riant, *Innocent III. et la Quatrième Croisade*, ap. *Rev. des Quest. Hist.*, 1875, p. 321 ff.; *ib.*, *Le changement de direction de la Quat. Croisade*, Geneva, 1879; *ib.*, *Des dépouilles religieuses enlevées à Constantinople*, Paris, 1875; and J. Tessier, *La diversion sur Zara et Constantin.*, Paris, 1884.

CHAPTER I.

THE CRUSADES. THE FOURTH CRUSADE. SUBSEQUENT EFFORTS FOR A NEW CRUSADE. ORGANISATION OF THE CHURCH AND STATE IN THE NEW LATIN KINGDOMS AND PRINCIPALITIES FORMED AS A RESULT OF THE FOURTH CRUSADE.

Innocent's
interest
in the
Crusades.

A TYPICAL man of his age, Innocent could not fail to be profoundly interested in the Holy Land, and in the Crusaders' conquests in its vicinity, all of which, with the exception of Tyre and Tripoli, Acre and Antioch, were now in the hands of Saladin. The men of his day could not bear to think that the land in which their Saviour had lived and died should be under the dominion of the Moslem. The thought was the more unendurable inasmuch as it was but a comparatively brief period since their forefathers had plucked that beloved country from the unbeliever's hand. The capture of Jerusalem by Saladin (1187), and his subsequent capture of nearly all Palestine and Syria, was a barb in their hearts which rent them at every motion. If, in addition to being men of faith, they were like Innocent possessed "of a great knowledge of the things of this world"—if they were, that is, endowed with any political insight,—they perceived, moreover, that the power of the Crescent was a menace to their faith and to their freedom.¹

¹ De Wailly in his Preface to Villehardouin (p. ix) well remarks : "Sans doute ce n'étaient pas les calculs d'une politique réfléchie qui conseillaient et préparaient ces lointaines expéditions ; mais l'instinct secret de la civilisation ne s'accordait-il pas avec la foi religieuse pour armer contre les musulmans les forces réunies de l'Europe chrétienne?"

In devoting himself, then, throughout the whole of his pontificate to the cause of the Crusades, Innocent was animated by lively faith and the example of his predecessors,¹ as well as by sound political instincts. He was not blind to the difficulties in his way either in the East or in the West. He took pains to inform himself about the status of the enemies of the Cross,² and was soon taught by his own dealings with the Christians themselves in the Holy Land how their ecclesiastical and civil dissensions were undermining their power of coping with their relentless foes. He was aware that the bitter animosity between Philip Augustus and Richard of England would prevent either of those sovereigns from taking a lead against the common enemy of Christendom, and he knew that the rivalry between Otho of Brunswick and Philip of Suabia gave him no hope of an emperor marshalling the hosts of Europe against the dreaded Turk. Nevertheless, undaunted by the vision of well-nigh superhuman difficulties, Innocent girded himself for the work with his wonted vigour, and, as we shall see, ceased not, in spite of one failure after another, to push forward the interests of the Crusades to the end of his life.

A few extracts from some of Innocent's letters will, better than anything else perhaps, enable the reader to understand some of the difficulties which he had to face,

Letter
to the
patriarch of
Jerusalem.

¹ Writing (i. 437) to Amaury II., king of Jerusalem, he says: "Cum terra sancta . . . sub protectione *semper* debeat sedis apostolicæ permanere, quæ Domino disponente mater esse meruit generalis."

² The report of one of those to whom Innocent wrote for information, viz., the patriarch of Jerusalem, has come down to us in old French, ap. Hopf, p. 29 ff., and in Latin in the Chronicle of Ric. of San Germ., sub an. 1214. The former begins: "Li apostoles Inocens de Romme vault savoir les usages et les coustumes des Sarrazins et les contrees, encontre les quels les os des Crestiens estoient appareillies por aler sur yaux . . . Ly patriaches enquist tant qu'il seut toute la verite de la terre du pais et les noms des haulx Sarrasins; si les nonsa a l'eglise de Romme . . . et dist ainsi."

arising from the perversity of the ecclesiastical and civil authorities in the Holy Land itself. Writing to Aimaro Monaco, the patriarch of Jerusalem, he has to blame him for blackening the reputation of the archbishop of Tyre,¹ and for his rash conduct in first condemning the marriage of Amaury (Amalric) II., king of Cyprus, with Isabella, heiress of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and then suddenly crowning them king and queen of that realm. "We are penetrated," said the Pope, "even to the marrow of our bones with the deepest sorrow when we learn that the subjects of the kingdom, both clerical and lay, and even you yourself, are continually provoking the anger of God on yourselves and your country,—aye, and even on the whole Christian people, by your hatreds, your jealousies, and your perpetual detractions; whereas you ought, to the best of your ability, to have been endeavouring to win His mercy by prayer, fasting, and other good works. We are so much the more grieved that you ought to have been leading the people subject to you along the way of righteousness, by exhortation and example, instead of conducting them by words and deeds along the path of perdition." The same unsatisfactory prelate, who was constantly interfering with the rights of others,² had shortly after this to be warned by the Pope not to meddle with the privileges of the Hospitallers granted them by the goodwill of the Holy See and the assent of his predecessors.³

Later on (January 9, 1213), we find him impressing on John de Brienne, the titular king of Jerusalem (1210–1225), that the misfortunes of his kingdom have sprung from the dissensions of kings and princes, and exhorting

¹ Ep. i. 518, December 23, 1198. Cf. i. 505, where the Pope exhorts him to satisfy the complaints of Tyre, or bring the affair to Rome.

² Ep. i. 115, January 5, 1199.

³ Ep. 14, January 5, 1199, ap. *P. L.*, t. 217, p. 39. "Sustinere nulla ratione debemus ut contra concessionem nostram ab aliquo temere veniatur."

him not to allow himself by any injuries or by any ambition to be drawn into a war with a Christian people, but, with his mind fixed on the kingdom to come, to devote all his powers to the defence of the Holy Land, to that sacred cause for which he left his sweet native land.¹

Many other letters of Innocent bear out this contention of his. Prelates, princes, and the two great military orders of the Templars and Hospitallers were for ever adding to the difficulty of the Christians holding the Holy Land by their selfish pursuit of their own interests, or, considering the circumstances, by their unreasonable efforts to maintain their real or supposed rights.

Dissen-
sions
among the
rulers in
the Holy
Land.

One of the most prolific sources of internal trouble in the Latin Orient during Innocent's reign was the dynastic succession of the principality of Antioch. As a condition of peace with Leo (or Livon) II., the Great, king of Lesser Armenia, Bohemond III., prince of Antioch, had agreed to marry his eldest son, Raymond, to the niece of his powerful neighbour. It had been further agreed later on that Rupen, the fruit of this marriage, should inherit both Antioch and Armenia.² But on the death of Bohemond III. (†1201), his second son, Bohemond, count of Tripoli (†1234), seized Antioch, and held it against Leo, with varying success, till long after the death of Leo himself (†1219) and of his grand-nephew Rupen (†1222). The result of this dynastic dispute was to divide the forces of the Latins and to introduce the infidel as an ally of a Christian ruler. The Templars and the Moslems of Aleppo were found fighting for Bohemond; and the Hospitallers, in conjunction with Leo and his Armenians, for Rupen.³

¹ Ep. xv. 211, January 9, 1213.

² Cf. epp. ii. 252-3.

³ Ep. viii. 125. Hence Innocent speaks in despair: "De dissensionibus autem inter eundem comitem [Bohemond of Tripoli] ac Templarios et charissimum in Christo filium nostrum Leonem illustrem regem Armeniæ tam ipso quam ipsius nepote subortis, necnon et

Already in 1199 Innocent had occasion to write to the Armenian king (Leo)¹ begging him not to turn his sword against "the household of the faith, but against the enemies of the Cross," and not to retain any longer a castle which belonged to the Templars.

A few months before he had to exhort the Hospitallers to settle their differences with the Templars by an appeal to law and not to arms. "The controversy," he wrote, "which has arisen between you and our beloved sons, the soldiers of the Temple, concerning certain possessions, has, in its power of doing harm, exceeded almost all the other disputes of our time. It is harmful to the whole of Christendom, injurious to us, fatal to the Latin kingdom (*mortifera partibus*), and advantageous to the enemies of the Christian faith, whom it has inspired with greater boldness to attack it and rend it to pieces."² In concluding his letter, he begged them to settle any further difficulties they might have with the Templars in accordance with the original agreement between them which had received the sanction both of Pope Alexander III. and of himself.

"There is no reason to wonder," said Innocent to his trustworthy legate, Albert II., patriarch of Jerusalem, "that, provoked by our sins, the Divine indignation has exposed the Holy Land and the place of the tabernacle of His glory to the enemies of His cross. So many crimes

æmulationibus aliis quibus invicem in partibus illis Christianorum aliqui provocantur." Ep. x. 214, February 13, 1207. Cf. xii. 8, March 5, 1209, and xii. 45, xiii. 123; and *Gesta*, c. 111 ff. Cf. Tournèize, *Hist. Arm.*, p. 186. J. Issaverdens, *Armenia and the Armenians*, p. 306 ff., Venice, 1878, gives a brief account of Leo II.

¹ Ep. ii. 259, December 1199. Cf. xvi. 7, March 15, 1213, where we read of an understanding between Leo and the Templars.

² Ep. i. 567, February 8, 1199. Cf. epp. xiii. 127-8, August 27, 1210, where the Pope has to forbid the Hospitallers from encroaching on the privileges of the Templars by using the "*alba pallia*" (white cloaks) which had been granted them as a special badge.

are there committed by those who are Christians in name but not in fact, that the small remnants (of the Latin kingdom) may, with the prophet, admire the mercies of God that they are not consumed. Perhaps, however, this may proceed less from the mercy of God than from His justice, as it may be said that the false Christians who live there are worse than the infidel. The wretched inhabitants . . . betray one another, hate one another, scandalise one another." The Pope proceeds to denounce the count of Tripoli for laying violent hands on the patriarch of Antioch, his liege lord, and to authorise Albert to take such steps to liberate the prelate as are demanded by justice and the condition of the Holy Land.¹ How far Bohemond, count of Tripoli, and *de facto* prince of Antioch, was prepared to go in defence of his usurped position, may be inferred from his conniving at the intrusion of a Greek patriarch into the province of Antioch, whilst he was keeping the Latin patriarch in prison. Innocent felt compelled to instruct his legate Albert to depose the intruder, and, by ecclesiastical censure, to force Bohemond to cease his patronage of the Greek patriarch or of the Greek rebellious clergy.²

¹ Ep. x. 214, February 13, 1208.

² xi. 9, March 4, 1208. Cf. ep. xi. 110, where we find that the Latin patriarch died in prison, and xvi. 7. As some excuse for Bohemond it must be pointed out that the patriarch (Pietro I. of Capua) was not a very easy person to keep on good terms with. At the very beginning of his pontificate Innocent had to censure him for venturing to translate a bishop from one see to another without reference to the Holy See, to which the translation of bishops, as one of the more important matters (*causæ majores*), belonged. Cf. epp. i. 50-1, 502-3. See i. 117 for what Innocent has to say regarding the papal power of translating bishops: "Ne si universis universa licerent, par videretur in singulis jurisdictio singulorum, et ex hoc Petri navicula sine remige fluctuaret, Dominus noster eam ad humani corporis similitudinem figuravit, ponens Romanam Ecclesiam caput ejus," etc. In ep. ix. 53 the Pope had to warn him to be careful to make his visit *ad limina* every four years.

But when Albert attempted to carry out Innocent's orders, the wily Bohemond replied that the emperor of Constantinople, from whom he held Antioch, had obtained from the Pope a privilege to the effect that he should not have to answer to an ecclesiastical court concerning the principality; an assertion which Innocent had to brand as wholly untrue.¹

So truculent a personage was Bohemond that we find Innocent appealing to the sultan of Aleppo to protect the successor (Pietro II. of Capua, *c.* 1208-1219) of the patriarch, who had died in prison. "We have learnt," wrote the Pope, "from many reliable persons that, though you have not yet embraced the Christian faith, you nevertheless have veneration for it." After expressing a hope that God will give him the grace to receive the faith, and exhorting him "to practise justice and love truth," Innocent begged him to help Pietro as far as ever he could.²

The
preaching
of the
Fourth
Crusade,
1198 ff.

Undeterred, however, by the difficulties which he could see on all sides, or by those which he could easily conjecture, Innocent took up the cause of the Crusaders from the very first hour of his reign, and throughout the whole of it ceased not to labour for its success. He could indeed be deeply distressed that, despite his great efforts, he was able to effect so little for the Holy Land,³ but he could write with confidence: "In the affliction of the Holy Land, which the Lord has purchased by His precious Blood, we are ourselves deeply afflicted, and

¹ xvi. 7, March 15, 1213.

² Ep. xiv. 69, June 7, 1211. On the election of Pietro, *cf.* ep. xi. 106; xii. 8, 38-9.

³ Ep. x. 214. "Statui seu potius casui terræ sanctæ hactenus vigilanter studuimus, sed nequivimus efficaciter subvenire." He proceeds to tell what he has done for "the remnants of the Holy Land" by his labours to promote peace among them, and by the succour which he has sent them; February 13, 1208.

our grief will be daily renewed, until we shall have learnt that it has been restored to its former liberty. Although the care of all the churches is upon us at every instant, still our chief anxiety and that of our brethren is for the liberation of the Lord's sepulchre, and we are for ever engaged in exhorting all men to assist it."¹

Innocent's Registers show how exact was this assertion. He worked incessantly for the "Lord's sepulchre" both directly and indirectly. His legates were everywhere trying to make peace in the interests of the Holy Land, and he was for ever trying to raise men and money for its service. Hence his biographer assures us that "he most ardently longed to bring help to and to recover the Holy Land, and that he was always anxiously considering how he could best assist it. And because certain detractors were in the habit of saying that the Roman Church was wont to impose unsupportable burdens on others, but was unwilling to put out even its little finger to move them, he selected two cardinals, Soffred, cardinal-priest of Sta. Prassede, and Peter, cardinal-deacon of Sta. Maria in Via Lata, and gave them the Cross in order that by word and example they might summon others to take it. Then he enjoined that all the rest of the clergy should contribute a fortieth of the revenues of the Church for the good of the Holy Land, while he himself and the cardinals gave a tenth of their incomes."²

¹ i. 438, December 2, 1198.

² *Gesta*, c. 46. Cf. ep. i. 409. The immediate result of the Pope's contribution was the despatch of a boat-load of provisions to Palestine. *Ib.* Cf. ep. ii. 189. The imposition of the fortieth is, of course, mentioned by our historians; but Ralph de Diceto (*Ymag. Hist.*, an. 1200, R. S., ii. 169) adds that unless the Romans have given up their innate avarice, all the money collected will never reach its destination. Matthew of Paris, who must have been a man of a mean and stingy disposition, assigns Innocent's taxation of the clergy to his

Letters of
Innocent
inciting to
a new
Crusade.

The letters¹ of Innocent more than bear out the language of his biographer. In the very first year of his pontificate, he sent letters into every European country calling on all, priests and people alike, "to fight the battles of Christ, and to avenge the injuries done to Him crucified." "At the present day," cried the indignant Pontiff, "though the glory of Israel has to our loss been transferred from its proper place, our princes give themselves up to adulterous embraces,² abusing their luxuries and their wealth; and, while they are harassing one another with inexorable hatred, and while each one is endeavouring to take vengeance on his neighbour for some injustice, there is not one left who is moved by the wrong done to the Crucified." Hear how our foes exult over us: "Already," they say, "have we weakened and broken the spears of the Franks, baffled the efforts of the English, overcome the strength of the Germans, and now for a second time have we subdued the spirited Spaniards. . . . What is left . . . but that we should attack your domains, and for ever blot out your name and memory."

"Let then every man gird himself," cried Innocent, "so that in the following March every city, and every count and baron may, in accordance with their means, send to the land of our Lord's birth for its protection, a number of armed men with pay to enable them to remain there for two years at least."

In his own name, he continued, and at his own cost and at that of his brethren, he is commissioning two

wish "to gratify his own avarice." *Chron. maj.*, 1202, R. S., ii. 480. Cf. his *Hist. Anglor.*, 1201, R. S., ii. 91, where he adds: "Quæ argumentosa extorsio per futuros eventus Deo creditur displicuisse." It is, however, only fair to add that these words are marked for omission, and in one MS. at least they have been omitted.

¹ Cf. epp. i. 302, 343-5. Cf. *Gesta*, c. 84.

² No doubt this is specially directed against Philip of France.

cardinals to accompany the Crusaders. Meanwhile, however, he is sending one of them, Cardinal Peter of Capua, to Philip of France and Richard of England to persuade them to make peace, or at least a five years' truce. The other delegate, Soffred,¹ cardinal-priest of Sta. Prassede, he has despatched to Venice to obtain succour for the Holy Land.

To those who took the Cross his letters announced the usual plenary indulgence to such as had confessed their sins, and were sorry for them;² and their property was declared to be taken under the protection of the Holy See. Finally, if any intending Crusader is under any kind of bond to pay interest, the papal letters direct that his creditors are to be compelled, by ecclesiastical penalties, if Christians, and by the secular power, if Jews, to cease from demanding the said interest.

Innocent was not content with sending his legates to entreat Richard and Philip to make peace. He addressed earnest letters to them begging of them to turn their arms against the Saracens and not against each other.³ He addressed them in the name of Christ, "whose place, though insufficiently, we occupy on this earth." Their strife, he pointed out, was injuring their churches, the poor, Christendom itself, and the cause of the Holy Land. He would be compelled to lay both their countries under an interdict if they did not cease from fighting.

The Pope
employs
special
preachers.

Innocent also employed special preachers to stir up

¹ He also appears as *Stephen* in some documents ; no doubt because originally only the first letter of his name was given, and some scribe subsequently supplied the name Stephen.

² "Plenam peccatorum suorum, de quibus oris et cordis egerint pœnitentiam." We quote from the copy of Innocent's encyclical sent to the archbishop of York, and given by Roger of Hoveden, an. 1198, R. S., iv. 74 ; August 13, 1198. Cf. ep. i. 336, etc.

³ i. 355, etc., 1198.

the hearts of men to take the Cross, especially a priest of the diocese of Paris, Fulk of Neuilly, the fame of whose preaching had penetrated even to Rome.¹

Some good results of the Pope's efforts.

One satisfactory result followed from Innocent's efforts almost immediately. His legate, Peter of Capua, succeeded in effecting a truce of five years between Richard and Philip (January 1199).² Had not Richard died soon after (April 8), great good, as far as the Crusades were concerned, might have resulted from this peace. The lion-hearted king's mind was still centred on the Holy Land, and he had been heard to declare that, when once again possessed of the territories which Philip had taken from him, "he would make a great expedition. He would conquer Egypt, and the land of Jerusalem, and would then take Constantinople, and would be crowned emperor."³

Taxes for the Holy Land.

A year or two later, after Richard's death, his successor John and King Philip promised the Pope's legate that they would give a fortieth of all their revenues for one year for the benefit of the Holy Land, and they called upon their subjects to do the same.⁴

Opposition roused by them.

These requests or demands for money were viewed with suspicion by clergy and laity alike. They believed that such "requests" were capable of being very greatly

¹ "Ichis prestres," says Robert de Clary in his quaint French (c. 1), "estoit moult preudons et moult boins clers et aloit preeeschant par les teres des crois, et moult de gent le sivoient pour chou qu'il estoit si preudons, que Damedieix faisoit moult grans miracles pour lui." Cf. Villehardouin, cc. 1-2. The author of the Chronicle of Laon ventures to insinuate that all the money collected by Fulk did not go to the Holy Land after his death (an. 1199, p. 59); but Ernoul assures us (c. 31, p. 338, ed. Mas Latrie) that to his certain knowledge the greater part of what he had collected ("la graindre pars de son avoir") found its way there. On the different preachers, see Roger, *l.c.*, iv. 77; and Gunther, cc. 2, 4.

² Epp. ii. 33-35; Roger, *l.c.*, p. 80.

³ Ernoul, *l.c.*

⁴ Roger, an. 1201, iv. 187.

abused, and expressed themselves so loudly to this effect that both Pope and king found it necessary to soothe the rising discontent. Innocent declared to "all the prelates of Holy Mother Church" that all the chief men in the East, including Leo, king of Armenia, had assured him that there was now a substantial hope of recovering Jerusalem, seeing that, since the death of Saladin, the infidels had been torn with dissensions. By way, therefore, of setting an example, he and the cardinals had decided to give a tenth of all their revenues for the Holy Land; but, in strictly commanding the clergy to give a fortieth,¹ he was careful to explain that it was not his intention to lay down a law, so that in future the fortieth might be levied as due and customary.² The tax was an extraordinary one which had been begotten of dire necessity, and which it was hoped might not have to be imposed again.

In the same way Geoffrey Fitz Peter, the chief-justiciar of England, in calling on the nobles of England to pay the fortieth, was at pains to assure them that "it was not conceded nor demanded as a right or custom or as a compulsory exaction, or in virtue of any

¹ To those who readily paid their share he granted an indulgence of the fourth part of the (canonical) penance which might have been imposed on them for their sins, provided that "pious devotion was thereby furthered." "Omnibus clericis . . . qui quadragesimam ipsam . . . solverint, . . . quartam partem injunctæ sibi pœnitentiæ relaxamus, dummodo . . . pia devotio suffragetur." Ep. ap. Roger (December 27, 1199), an. 1199, iv. 109.

² *Ib.* Other letters connected with raising money for the Crusades are i. 404 and 508. Cf. i. 450, where he expresses his anxiety that suitable collectors be appointed who will not offend the people. On the history of the papal Crusade-tax, cf. A. Gottlob, *Die päpstlichen Kreuzzugs-Steuern des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Heiligenstadt, 1892. He shows that at first the kings rather favoured the imposition of the tax; that then, finding it drew large sums from their countries, they opposed it; and finally, that they effected a compromise with the Popes in virtue of which both kings and Popes taxed the clergy.

other papal (*apostolica*) authority (than the request of the cardinal legate).¹

From the letter of the Pope just cited, as well as from others,² it appears that he sanctioned other methods of raising money for the purposes of the Holy War. Chests locked with three keys, one to be kept by the bishop, another by the local priest, and the third by a good layman, were to be placed in the churches, so that any of the faithful might deposit money therein. He also allowed the bishops to commute other penances or vows³ into almsgiving for the same purposes.

From the obligation of contributing to the needs of Holy Land, Innocent would not exempt any one. He reminded the Syrians⁴ that they also must give money for the defence of their country, and insisted on even privileged religious Orders, like the Cistercians,⁵ paying their share.

Especially did Innocent rely upon spiritual arms for the recovery "of the province of Jerusalem"; for he knew that by God's assistance, secured by prayer, the few could overcome the many; whereas if the anger of God were

¹ See Geoffrey's rescript, ap. Roger, *l.c.*, iv. 188. "Quod [the tax] quidem nec debito, nec de consuetudine, nec de coheritione (coactione) nec de aliqua alia auctoritate apostolica conceditur vel postulatur."

² *E.g.*, one of May 5, 1201, ap. *ib.*, iv. 165.

³ Ep. i. 69. In this letter Innocent notes as one cause for the distress of the Holy Land: "a qua omnes Gallici remearant." Cf. v. 141 and ix. 255, wherein we see the commutation of the vow of a grey-haired man. Cf. also Coggeshall, *Chron. Aug.*, p. 116, R. S.

⁴ i. 439. With special reason did he write to the Syrians, because a traveller, Burchard of Mount Sion (c. 1280), tells us that the Syrians "keep no faith with the Latins . . . and are stingy, giving no alms." *Descrip. of the Holy Land*, c. 13.

⁵ Cf. ep. of December 27, 1199, already quoted (or ap. *Reg.*, ii. 270), and ii. 268. With regard to the Cistercians, see Coggeshall, p. 130. See also ii. 271-2. The Cistercian Cæsar of Heisterbach will have it that our Lady blamed Innocent for attempting to tax his Order. Cf. *Dialogus mirac.*, D. vii. c. 6.

not softened by prayers and good works, all efforts would not suffice to guard "even the remnant of the land of the nativity" which was still held by the Christians.¹

In his efforts to rouse Europe against the Moslem, Innocent seemed not to forget anything which might help the cause he had so much at heart.² He was not then likely to fail to enter into negotiations with Constantinople.

Negotiations with Byzantium in view of a new Crusade.

With a view to putting a check on the designs of hostile German emperors either upon the territories of the Holy See or upon Constantinople itself, some of Innocent's predecessors had listened to the diplomatic approaches of the Eastern emperors. Celestine III., whom he succeeded, had corresponded with Alexius III., and Innocent was the more disposed to follow his example, seeing that Philip of Suabia, whom he did not favour, was the son-in-law of the deposed emperor Isaac Angelus, and was consequently at enmity with Alexius III., who had dethroned him. Innocent was most anxious to make the Byzantine ruler, whose power he appears to have much overrated, an earnest supporter of the Crusades. But he realised that unless he were in religious unity with the West, he would never be in real political unity with it. He accordingly devoted himself to bring about that religious unity which was always the hope of the Popes of this period.

It was then with alacrity that Innocent complied with a request which, on his accession, he had received from Alexius III. begging him to send envoys to Constantinople. Along with his envoys Innocent sent letters to the emperor and to the patriarch John X., Kamateros.

¹ Epp. i. 11, 12.

² Cf. ep. i. 539, where in writing to the chief offenders, the Venetians, he renews the prohibition of the Lateran council under Alexander III. against supplying the Saracens with munitions of war under pretext of trade.

He exhorted Alexius to forward both the cause of the Crusades and the union of the churches; and to the patriarch he pointed out that the Roman Church was the Mother of all the churches, and that from her the Greeks had no right to break away.¹

Letters of
the em-
peror and
the patri-
arch to
the Pope.

In reply to his "spiritual father,"² Alexius observed that, in Innocent's exhortations to humility, he detected a note of passion (*scintilla passionis*) that was contrary to humility.³ But he was aware, he continued, that the Pope's words had sprung not from pride but from his zeal for the Lord's sepulchre.

With regard to the Crusade he was afraid that, in the designs of God, the time had not yet come for the deliverance of Jerusalem. Besides, the Pope must not forget what injury the Crusaders under Barbarossa had inflicted on the Eastern Empire. However, he must pray that God will keep it tranquil, and then its ruler will be able, when the time arrives, to fight for the sepulchre of the Lord. As regards the union of the churches, all that is required is for the prelates of the Church to lay aside all thoughts of self in the matter, and for the Pope to summon a council at which "our most holy Church will not be slow to attend."

The patriarch returned a similar evasive answer. He began⁴ by praising the Pope's zeal, but professed himself unable to understand how the Roman Church could be called one and universal, seeing that it was divided into

¹ Epp. i. 353-4, 1198; *Gesta*, c. 60. He says the Christian people blame him (Alexius) for not freeing the Holy Land: "cum tam ex vicinitate locorum quam abundantia divitiarum tuarum et potentia qua inimicos crucis . . . præcellis, id potueris commodius . . . aliis principibus adimplere."

² Ap. epp. Inn., ii. 210, February 1199. The Latin version of this letter which has come down to us is anything but lucid.

³ This phrase no doubt had reference to the Pope's thinly veiled threat of excommunication if the emperor did not comply with his wishes. Cf. Luchaire's last volume, vi. p. 287.

⁴ Ap. epp. Innocent, ii. 208.

different churches, or how the Roman Church could be called the Mother of all the churches, inasmuch as Jerusalem was the cradle of the faith. Finally, it would seem, so argued the patriarch, that it was the Latins and not the Greeks who had divided the Church on the subject of the procession of the Holy Ghost.

To both these documents Innocent returned lengthy replies. To the patriarch he pointed out that it was clear from the testimony of the Scriptures, and from the decrees of canon law, based upon them, that the Roman Church was the Mistress and Mother of all the churches. In the course of developing the well-known¹ and many other texts of the New Testament on the primacy of Peter, he called attention to the fact that certain privileges were bestowed by our Lord on all the Apostles, but never on all of them without Peter, but that privileges were conferred on Peter alone without the others.² The Roman Church is universal in the sense that it presides over all the various members of the Body of the Church. The church of Jerusalem was the first certainly in point of time, if not the first in point of dignity.

Innocent brought his long letter to a conclusion by saying that he had in mind to summon a General Council, and that he expected the patriarch to be present at it, as the emperor had given him to understand that he would. In his response to the emperor, the Pope pointed out what a mistaken notion it was to think of putting off action till it was known when the time appointed by God had come. We are not counsellors of God. He also told him that he was going to summon a General Council for the needs of the Church, and exhorted him to see to it that the patriarch attended it.³

¹ SS. Matt. xvi. 18 ; Luke xxii. 32 ; John xxi. 17.

² Ep. ii. 209, November 12, 1199.

³ Ep. ii. 211, November 13, 1199.

Further
corre-
spondence.

This readiness of the Pope to call a General Council, and his insistence that the patriarch should be present at it, alarmed the emperor, and he hastened to explain to the Pope that the council must be held in the Eastern Empire, where the four ancient councils were held, if the Greek Church was to be represented at it.¹ Then, to make it still more plain that there was no real anxiety for union with Rome, he went on to assert that the Pope ought not to attempt to blame him, seeing that the Empire was superior to the Church.² With admirable temper Innocent quietly replied that in temporal affairs the emperor excels, but that in spiritual matters the Pope is pre-eminent, and that spiritual concerns are as much more important than temporal as the soul is superior to the body.³ If he has blamed him, he has done so as a father. It is his to induce even emperors and kings to do what is pleasing to God, and he has only asked Alexius to work for the unity of the Church and the defence of Jerusalem.

Still further to embarrass the Pope, the Greek emperor urged him to cause Amaury, king of Jerusalem and Cyprus, to give up Cyprus to him peacefully, inasmuch as it had belonged to the Empire.⁴ Innocent, however, made answer that, when Richard of England seized the island, he took it from one who was independent of Constantinople. Besides, the Western princes had begged him, in view of the importance of the island for the defence of the Holy Land, to request the emperor not to molest

¹ *Gesta*, c. 62.

² *Ib.* "Imperium sacerdotio præpellebat." These letters of Alexius III. have not come down to us.

³ This reply of Innocent is not to be found in his Register ; but it has been preserved in the first collection of his Decretals ; ap. *P. L.*, t. 216, p. 1182. It begins : "Solitæ benignitatis affectu," and is supposed to have been written in the third year (1200) of Innocent's reign.

⁴ *Gesta*, c. 64.

its king at the present juncture. He therefore trusted that he would continue to refrain from attacking it.¹

Fortunately, there were others more in earnest about the recovery of the Lord's sepulchre than was Alexius III. The letters of Innocent and the words of such men as Fulk had roused the people of many lands, especially those in France. Needless to say, they had not moved the selfish Philip himself, but they had stirred up many of his feudatories—nobles almost as powerful as himself. Like the first, this new Crusade was to be the work not of kings but of the nobility. Chief among those who took in hand its organisation were Theobald, count of Champagne; Louis, count of Blois; Simon de Montfort; Baldwin, count of Flanders; and Boniface, marquis of Montferrat, who succeeded Theobald († May 6, 1201) as leader of the Christian host.

The Fourth Crusade takes shape.

One of the first steps taken by the French leaders was to come to an arrangement with Venice, which under the guidance of its blind old doge, Henry Dandolo, in response to frequent exhortations on the part of Innocent,² agreed to transport to Egypt some thirty-five thousand men for eighty-five thousand marks (*c.* £200,000), and the half of all such lands as the Crusaders should conquer.³ Egypt was selected as the point of attack, as it was felt to be the keystone of the Moslem power.⁴

The Crusaders' pact with Venice, 1201.

¹ This letter (*c.* March-April 1201) is also not to be found in the existing papal Registers. It is given in the *Gesta*, c. 64. *Cf.* ep. ii. 251.

² "Ad exhortationem etiam Summi Pontificis, qui ad hoc nos sæpius . . . commonuit." See the pact between Dandolo and the Frankish counts, ap. Andrew Dandolo, *Chron.*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, xii. p. 323 f. On their own account the Venetians undertook to supply fifty warships. *Cf.* ep. Inn. of May 8, 1201, ap. Tessier, p. 259.

³ Villehardouin, c. 5.

⁴ *Ib.*, c. 6, § 30; *Gesta*, c. 83. *Cf.* Gunther, *Hist.*, c. 6, who gives as another reason for the selection of Egypt, that the truce then existing between the Moslems and the Christians of Palestine prevented the Crusaders from thinking of attacking the Moslems there.

It is approved by Innocent conditionally.

On May 8, 1201, Innocent, at the request of the contracting parties, confirmed the treaty, on condition that a legate of the Apostolic See should accompany the host, and that the Crusaders should refrain from injuring any Christian peoples, unless they attempted to interfere with them.¹ Innocent's biographer assures us that the Pope gave this conditional approval because he foresaw the future; and, if we turn to one of his letters, we shall see what it was that made him anxious about the future of the Crusade which he was striving to bring into being.

Since the death of Manuel Comnenus, Constantinople had seen rather more than the usual number of dynastic struggles. In the course of them Alexius III. had, as we have seen, dethroned and blinded his brother Isaac Angelus, and had imprisoned him along with his son Alexius, whom, in view of his afterwards becoming emperor, we shall speak of as the young Alexius IV.

In the spring of the year 1201, Alexius IV. made his escape from Constantinople, fled to Rome, and laid his case before the Pope (*c.* the beginning of May). Having only his version of the case, Innocent could not come to any definite conclusion on its merits.²

¹ *Gesta*, c. 83. "Ipse vero, *quod futurorum esse præagens*, caute respondit quod conventiones illas ita duceret confirmandas, ut videlicet ipsi Christianos non læderent, nisi forsan iter eorum illi nequiter impedirent." Cf. Villehardouin, c. 6, and Potthast, 1350; Epp. vi. 101; vii. 18; viii. 133.

² Georgius Acropolites († 1282), *Annal.*, c. 2, ed. Bonn. Writing to Alexius III. about the interview, Innocent says: "Cum nos eidem dedissemus responsum juxta quod vidimus expedire, *recessit a nobis, et ad predictum Philippum . . . properavit.*" Ep. v. 122, November 16, 1202. The words in italics seem clear enough, and appear to me to settle the question as to which of the two, Innocent or Philip, was first visited by Alexius IV. Riant, ap. *Revue*, p. 348 n., gives the authorities for and against the conclusion that he first visited Innocent. Cf. *Gesta*, c. 82. Innocent (*i.e.*) goes on to inform Alexius III. that, after he had heard his envoys, he had decided in his favour: "illud statuimus quod tibi poterit merito complacere."

As the young Alexius at once went to Philip of Suabia¹ after his stay in Rome, Innocent could not but fear that Philip, his brother-in-law, would espouse his cause, and endeavour to get the Crusaders to fight for him. Hence his guarded approval of the Pact of Venice. Later on he had the more reason to fear what Philip might be able to effect when he heard that Boniface, marquis of Montferrat, had been appointed leader of the Crusading host (August 1201), through the influence of his relative Philip of France, the ally of the Suabian. His anxiety, moreover, cannot have been lessened when he learnt that Boniface had been with Philip of Suabia for some months (*c.* November 1201–February 1202), and had, so it was reported, come to an understanding with him to use “the Christian army” to place Alexius IV. on the throne.²

In March (1202) Boniface came to Rome, and it was no doubt from his ambiguous language that the Pope concluded that he had arranged with Philip of Suabia to try to use the Crusaders against Alexius III.³ Innocent, however, made it plain that, if the marquis had formed any such scheme, he would not give it his approval.⁴

After much inevitable delay the Crusaders began to pour into Venice (June 1202), and as they made their way along, many of their leaders were interviewed by the young Alexius IV. He implored them to help him to obtain the Byzantine throne, which he assured them was his in virtue of the rights of his father. This they agreed to do if, meanwhile, he would help them to recover the Holy Land.⁵

The Crusaders assemble at Venice 1202.

¹ *Cf. Chron. reg. Colon., contin. III., an. 1201, p. 199.*

² *Gesta*, c. 83. “Dicebatur habuisse tractatum, ut Alexium . . . reduci faceret ad Constantinopolim ab exercitu Christiano ad obtinendum imperium Romanicæ.”

³ *Ib.* “Marchio . . . cœpit agere a remotis; sed cum intellexisset ipsius animam ad hoc non esse directum,” etc.

⁴ *Ib.* *Cf.* c. 85.

⁵ Villehardouin, c. 15, §§ 70–72

Arrived at Venice, the soldiers of the Cross found that there was awaiting them on the Venetian waters the finest fleet that any of them had ever seen.¹ Many, however, never went to Venice at all. They would appear to have been disturbed by rumours which reached them of an attempt to use the Crusading host for some purpose other than the Holy War. Villehardouin says more than once that several Crusaders did not come to Venice "on account of the great peril that was there."²

As the Crusaders arrived at Venice, they were transferred to the island of Lido, and soon found themselves in great straits. Owing to the numbers who had gone to other ports, the leaders at Venice found themselves unable to pay the Venetians the full sum agreed upon,³—a sum, it may be remarked, equal to more than half the revenue of the king of Hungary.⁴ Thereupon the doge, primarily intent upon the commercial prosperity of Venice, resolved to utilise the Crusaders for the private advantage of the Republic. The Crusaders were practically kept as prisoners on the Lido, and the papal legate was in fact driven away. The Venetians, who had resolved to use the Crusaders to recapture Zara in Dalmatia, had not been at all pleased when the Pope only gave a conditional approval to their treaty with the Crusading chiefs,⁵ and

¹ *Gesta*, c. 85. Rob. de Clary, c. 10. "Quant li pelerin . . . virrent le rike navie qui faite estoit, les rikes nes, les grans dromons et les vissiers a mener les chevax et les galies, si s'en merveillierent moult."

² C. 10, §§ 49-50.

³ Villehardouin, cc. 11, 12; *Devast. C.*, p. 87; Rob. de Clary, cc. 11, 12, etc.

⁴ See the very interesting little document: "Status regni Hungariæ sub Bela III. rege," ap. Endlicher, *Rer. Hung. Mon.*, p. 245 f., whence it appears that the revenue of Bela III. (+1196) was 166,000 marks.

⁵ "Veneti autem confirmationem sub hoc tenore recipere noluerunt." *Gesta*, c. 83.

when Cardinal Peter of Capua¹ arrived to take over the direction of the Crusade, he was told by them that he might come as a preacher but not as legate.² "The Franks" were indignant but helpless, and the cardinal returned to Rome to inform the Pope of the craft of the Venetians.³

After the legate had withdrawn, the doge proposed to the leaders of the Crusade that, on condition of their helping the Venetians to recover Zara, which the king of Hungary had taken from them,⁴ the balance due to Venice would be remitted. Feeling themselves in a hopeless dilemma, the chiefs accepted the offer, despite the fact that letters were received from Rome threatening them with excommunication if they should venture to touch Zara, which was in the hands of a king who had himself taken the Cross.⁵

New treaty
with the
Venetians.

At length, on October 8, the Crusaders set sail for Zara. Some of them, however, including their chief, the astute marquis of Montferrat, would not brave the Pope's displeasure, and refused to take part in the expedition.⁶

The Cru-
saders seize
Zara, 1202.

When the Crusaders arrived off Zara (November 10), its inhabitants sent letters which they had procured from Rome to their chiefs. The letters threatened excommunica-

¹ He is often, perhaps more correctly, called Peter Capuano, because the Capuani were an old family of Amalfi, of which city Peter is said to have been a native.

² "Sed dux et consilarii Venetorum, timentes ne ipse impediret eorum propositum . . . de Jadera expugnanda, dixerunt quod si vellet ire cum eis, non ut legationis, sed ut prædicationis exerceret officium ducerent illum ; alioquin rediret." *Ib.*, c. 85.

³ *Ib.*

⁴ Cf. Thomas of Spalato, c. 24.

⁵ *Gesta*, c. 85. Cf. ep. v. 161. "Licet . . . Petrus . . . legatus, prohibitionis nostræ tenorem *quibusdam* ex vobis exponere curavisset, et tandem litteræ nostræ vobis fuissent publice præsentate, nec Deo nec sedi apostolicæ detulistis"—wrote Innocent "to the counts, barons, and all the Crusaders," c. February 1203. Cf. v. 162.

⁶ *Ib.* "Marchio . . . qui fuerat super hoc a d. Papa viva voce prohibitus, se prudenter absentans, non processit . . . ad Jaderam." Cf. Gunther, c. 6.

tion to all who should dare to attack the city.¹ The papal threats produced their effect on some of the leaders,—among others, on Simon de Montfort, the father of the Simon of English parliamentary fame. He, with a number of others, left the army for a time ;² but the other Crusaders, influenced by the Venetians, stormed and plundered the unfortunate city. The Venetians had carried through their scheme. The rival city on the eastern shore of the Adriatic, the capital of Dalmatia, was in their hands.

Discontent
of the mass
of the
Crusaders.
They want
absolution.

But the great mass of the Crusaders were profoundly discontented. They, at any rate, were sincere. Their real wish was to fight for the recovery of the Holy Land, and not to make war on their fellow-Christians. They had no sympathy with the wiles of the Venetians, nor with the duplicity of their leaders ; and as it became more clear to them how they were being tricked, and how, instead of earning the blessing of God they were under the ban of His vicar, their indignation knew no bounds. They fought with the Venetians, and insisted that efforts should be made to induce the Pope to remove the sentence of excommunication under which it gradually became more widely known that they had fallen.³ Accordingly, the bishop of Soissons and others were sent to Rome to appease the Pope, and to beg his forgiveness on the ground that the Crusaders had acted, practically, on compulsion.⁴

¹ "Si avoient pourcachie unes lettres de Rome, que trestout chil qui les werieroient ou qui leur feroient nul damage, qu'il fussent eskenie." Rob. de Clary, c. 14. Cf. Villehardouin, c. 17, n. 83.

² Declaring that he had not set out to fight Christians, he went off to the Holy Land. Cf. Pierre des Vaux de Cernai, *Chron.*, c. 19.

³ Rob. de Clary, c. 15. "Une grans meslee leva entre les Veniciens et le menue gent des pelerins." The leaders communicated as little as possible to the great body of the Crusaders.

⁴ Envoys were sent who "pourcachierent lettres de l'apostoile que tout li pelerin et tout li Venicien fussent assaus." Rob., *ib.* Cf. Gunther, c. 7, and *Gesta*, c. 87 ; Villehardouin, c. 32.

Indignant letters from Innocent soon reached Zara. As usual, his indignation found vent in a torrent of scriptural language and allusions. Lo, he cried, the gold turned to dross and the bright silver became blackened when you turned aside from the purity of your intention, took your hands from the plough, and with Lot's wife turned back. When you ought to have fled from the cursed land of Egypt, and hastened to the land flowing with milk and honey, you wandered into the desert, and, calling to mind how you used to regale yourselves with the fleshpots of Egypt, you sated yourselves with the blood of your brethren. The ancient enemy of mankind has contrived to infect all of you by a small portion of leaven. He knew that greater love cannot be shown by man for man than that one man should lay down his life for another. In order that he might deprive you of the reward of such love, he contrived to make you turn your arms against your brethren instead, . . . and attempt to pay your debts with the spoils of Christians, as you have done at Zara.

The Crusaders were then reminded that they had acted against the Pope's orders, and were commanded to cease from wrecking the city; to restore what they had plundered; to promise the papal legate, if they were to obtain absolution, that they would submit to whatever penance was imposed upon them for their evil deeds; and to beg the king of Hungary's forgiveness. The Pope, however, added that he found some consolation in the fact that they had sent to acknowledge their fault, and that they had acted under compulsion.¹

Having thus delivered his soul, Innocent ordered a form of absolution to be drawn up, and given to the envoys,

¹ Epp. v. 161-2, c. February 1203. They are also published in full in the *Codex Diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, iii. p. 20 ff. Agram, 1905, ed. Smičiklas. Cf. *Gesta*, cc. 86-7.

on the understanding that it was to be used if his conditions were complied with. He showed himself so considerate, says Gunther, "because he was a man of great discretion and kindness (*gratiæ*). He was youthful indeed as far as his age was concerned, but by his prudence, mature judgment, and settled character he was a man of advanced years. Distinguished by his birth and appearance, he was a lover of justice and a hater of iniquity, so that he was called Innocent not so much by chance as by desert."¹

They comply with the Pope's conditions, Apr. 1203.

On receipt of the Pope's letters, Baldwin, count of Flanders, Louis, count of Blois, Hugh, count of St. Pol, and other Crusading leaders at once (April) publicly proclaimed that, in the matter of the Zara incident, they would obey the Pope's injunctions.² At the same time they wrote to Innocent himself a letter full of expressions of submission. They threw themselves at his feet,³ and in return for the absolution they had received, sent the Pope the required promises. But they begged him to forgive their chief, Boniface of Montferrat,⁴ for not having shown his letters, involving their excommunication, to the impenitent Venetians. Had he done so, the expedition would have come to an abrupt conclusion. The marquis himself wrote to the same effect.⁵ Recalling to mind, he said, that the Pope had told him that there might be need for dissembling if the Venetians should aim at ruining the expedition, he had suppressed his letters to them till he should hear further from him, because he had been

¹ *Hist.*, c. 7.

² "Notum fieri volumus . . . quod ad mandatum ejus satisfactionem curabimus exhibere." Ap. epp. Inn., vi. 99, or ap. *Codex*, *ib.*, p. 26.

³ "Cum promptissima ad omne obsequium voluntate, oscula pedum." *Ib.*

⁴ He had returned to the army in December 1202.

⁵ *Ib.* Ep. vi. 100.

informed that the Venetians had meanwhile sent a special messenger to him.¹

In reply to the leaders' protestations of regret, Innocent let them know how grieved he was that so far his efforts had been marred by them, and that their action had discouraged other Christians from taking the Cross, but had encouraged the Saracens to renewed efforts. He hoped, however, that they would show that they were truly sorry for their conduct, by avoiding similar conduct for the future. Hence they were to be on their guard not to allow themselves to be induced to injure "the land of the Greeks" on the ground that it was not properly submissive to the Apostolic See, or that its present emperor was a usurper. His letters must be delivered to the Venetians.² However, in another letter, he gave them permission, if the Venetians would not repent, to communicate with them and use them for the transport services for which they had already paid them so much. It would not be fitting that their penitence should injure them, and that, on the contrary, the Venetians should profit by their contumacy. Unless, however, they repented, they were not to be allowed to fight with the Crusaders.³

¹ *Ib.* He concluded by again assuring the Pope: "ego et barones exercitus mandatum vestrum parati sumus exsequi, quidquid iterata nobis injunxeritis jussione." *Gesta*, c. 87.

² Ep. vi. 101, c. June, 1203.

³ Ep. vi. 202. *Cf.* vi. 48. Here we may note that the Venetians remained contumacious (ep. vii. 127). However, on their arrival at Constantinople they wrote for absolution to Cardinal Peter of Capua, then at Cyprus on his way to the Holy Land. Though they made no promise to give satisfaction, the cardinal weakly granted them their request, on the ground, as he said, that he would rather see them maimed than dead. *Gesta*, c. 90, and ep. vi. 209. *Cf.* epp. vii. 200 and 201, where Baldwin intercedes for them; and 202, where the doge excuses his conduct and that of his countrymen. Their going to Zara in the first instance was due to the necessity of the fleet finding winter quarters; 206 and 207, where the Pope refuses to absolve Dandolo from his vow of going to the Holy Land, but confirms the

The
expedition
against
Constantinople.

The first act of the drama of the Fourth Crusade is now to all intents and purposes over. We have seen the crafty Venetians utilising to the full the opportunity which had come in their way ; and, despite the strenuous opposition of the Pope, successfully using, to further their ends of vengeance and business, the needs and difficulties of the unfortunate soldiers of the Cross.

Innocent never forgave them for their conduct. Years after he bitterly upbraided them for diverting from the Holy Land "so grand, so noble, so powerful a Christian army—an army that had been brought together with so much care and toil, and at such great expense. It was an army that might well not merely have recovered the province of Jerusalem, but might have even occupied a considerable part of the kingdom of Babylon. For if it proved able to conquer Constantinople and Greece, how much more easily would it have wrested Alexandria and Egypt, and hence the Holy Land, from the hands of the pagans? It is true, I am glad that Constantinople has returned to the obedience of the holy Roman Church, its mother, but I should have been much more pleased if Jerusalem had been restored to the Christians."¹

We have now to unfold the second act, in which we shall see the valour and energy of the Crusaders again, in defiance of Innocent, diverted from their proper course, and made to serve private purposes of greed, ambition, and vengeance.

Reasons
why many
of the
Crusaders
were not
very un-
willing to
besiege the
city.

We shall not, however, behold the same stout objections on the part of the Crusaders themselves to being driven to fight against Christians in Constantinople as they

absolution granted by Cardinal Peter, though he blames him for having granted it, under the circumstances. Ep. viii. 126.

¹ Ep. ix. 139, August 5, 1206. He speaks to the same effect in 1209, xii. 83, July 15. Cf. *Gesta*, c. 104. These denunciations "absolved him (Innocent) from any participation in their exploit." Hill, *A Hist. of European Diplomacy*, i 324.

displayed in the case of the Zara episode. One reason of this is to be found in the fact that very many of those most reluctant to fight their fellow-Christians had managed to leave the main body either before or soon after the siege of Zara; but perhaps the more accurate reason is to be sought in the fact that there was a general feeling throughout the West that the Greeks were largely responsible for most of the disasters which had befallen the Crusading hosts, and that, consequently, Constantinople itself ought to be seized.¹

There can, indeed, be little doubt that the Western feeling in this matter was justifiable. The Crusaders had certainly inflicted much injury on the Byzantine Empire. But their faults were faults which arose from ignorance and want of discipline, and had not inflicted any lasting damage upon it. The advantages which they procured for it by the heavy blows which they dealt its foes, far more than counterbalanced the harm done to it by the lawlessness of some of their bands. But the ruin which the petty policy² of the Byzantine rulers had often brought upon the Crusaders was the result of cold calculation. They wished to use the religious zeal of the Crusaders for their own advantage;³ and when they found that they could not effect their purpose, they

¹ Odo de Deuil, the historian of the Second Crusade, bitterly regretted that Louis VII. did not follow the advice of some of his followers, and take Constantinople. *De Ludov. itin.*, l. iii. sub fin., ap. *P. L.*, t. 185. Cf. Diehl, *Études Byzantines*, p. 185.

² Cf. the giving and taking away of a monastery from Cluny, ap. Ep. Petri Ven., ii. 39 f., ap. *P. L.*, t. 189, pp. 261-2; and their vulgar abuse of the Pope (to which we have already called attention from the *Chron. Cas.*, iv. 115, ap. *P. L.*, t. 173, pp. 956-7) and of the Latins generally, whom they usually designated as "dogs." Ep. xiii. 184. See also a letter of the ex-archbishop of Athens, Michael Akominatos, ap. Luchaire, iv. p. 262.

³ Cf. Muralt, *Essai de Chron. Byzant.*, an. 1138, nn. 7, 8; and Bréhier, *Les Croisades*, p. 103.

contrived to thwart their efforts by a judicious withholding of co-operation,¹ or by deliberate malice. Small wonder then that some of the most moderate statesmen in the West were convinced that the success of the Crusades would never be assured till Constantinople was taken from the Greek schismatics, and that the less moderate ones did not pause to consider, or did not care whether such a course would render those schismatics more schismatical than ever.²

Especially were the Venetians angry with the Byzantine Empire for wanton wrongs which had been inflicted by the Greeks upon them,³ and, in common with the rest of the West, for the massacre of the Latins which had taken place at Constantinople in 1182.⁴ Dandolo himself is said by some to have been blinded by them, and, according to the contemporary canon of Faenza, Tolosanus, he openly declared that he wished to punish the Greeks for their crimes, and to restore the young Alexius, in the hope that, after the conquest of the Byzantine Empire, it would be more easy to recover "the most Holy Land."⁵

Alexius IV
comes to
Zara, 1202,

Those, therefore, of the leaders of the Fourth Crusade who were plotting the capture of Constantinople no doubt felt sure that the opposition which they would encounter from their men would not be very hard to overcome. However all this may be, it is certain that the young Alexius came to Zara at the close of the year 1202, and renewed his request for the help of the Crusaders to restore his father to the throne. With him came envoys

¹ Ep. xiii. 184.

² "Sciendum est . . . quod negotium Gretiæ multum impedivit negotium orientalis ecclesiæ." Reiner, *Annal.*, an. 1207

³ Cf. *Cron. Altinate*, l. v., an. 1171, or *Hist. Ducum Venet.*, ap. *M. G. S.S.*, xiv., which is the same as the fifth book of the Chronicle.

⁴ Cf. *supra*, under Alexander II., or Muralt, an. 1182, nn. 9 and 10.

⁵ *Chron.*, c. 121, p. 683, ed. Borsieri, Florence, 1876.

from Philip of Suabia, who pointed out that by working in the interests of the young Alexius the Crusaders would be furthering the best interests of the Holy Land, as he would support them with men and money, and would bring about the submission of the Greek Church to that of Rome.¹

Some of the leaders, notably Simon de Montfort, would have nothing to do with this new scheme against another Christian people. Rather than disobey the Pope, they left the army. But the greater number, first of the chiefs and then of the ordinary soldiers, from various motives,² accepted the proposals of the young Alexius.³

On April 20 the Crusaders left Zara, and their fleet seemed, says Villehardouin, "destined to conquer the world, for so far as the eye could reach one could see nothing but the sails of the transports and the warships, in such sort that the hearts of men were filled with gladness."⁴ Two months later (June 23), the fleet cast anchor off Constantinople, and the Western warriors were astounded at the sight of the many domes and palaces, circuses, public buildings of all kinds, walls and towers that seemed to spring out of the water and mount up to the skies. "They could not," so the marshal

The Crusaders agree to strive for his restoration, 1203.

Isaac and his son Alexius are restored, 1203.

¹ Villehardouin, c. 19. Cf. c. 39; *Devast. Cons.*, p. 88; Rob. de C., c. 30-3; Ernoul, p. 360 ff.; *Gesta*, c. 89. "Philippus, sicut convenerat cum marchione Montisferrati, misit Alexium."

² The German Crusaders, for instance, felt the pressure of Philip's envoys, Gunther, c. 8. "His omnibus causis"—fear, pity, hatred, ambition, revenge, a feeling of helplessness, etc.—"in unum concurrentibus, major pars nostri exercitus in assensum juvenis jam cœperat declinare." Cf. *ib.*, c. 11, where Gunther says that some were ready to attack Constantinople, because they thought that its capture "would not greatly displease the Pope or even God."

³ Villehardouin, c. 30 f. Rob. de Clary, "Adont si s'acorderent tout li pelerin et li Venicien, que on i alast." C. 40.

⁴ C. 25. He is actually speaking of the departure from Corfu, which the fleet visited on its way to Constantinople.

assures us,¹ "have imagined that there was in the whole world a city so rich" as this queen of cities. And as they looked, sturdy and stout-hearted men as they were, "they every one shook with dread. And well they might," continues our naïve historian, "for since the world began never was so mighty an enterprise taken in hand before."

It is not for us to tell how the Crusaders stormed the suburb of Pera, how their great galleys broke the chain which was to have kept them out of the Golden Horn,² how they stormed the city, drove out Alexius III., and assisted at the crowning of the young Alexius as co-regent with his blind father, Isaac (August 1). Towards the end of the month (August 24) Alexius wrote to the Pope, "who holds the place of God on earth," that "the pilgrims" had been induced to restore him to his throne principally on account of the oath he had sworn, both to recognise himself "the ecclesiastical head of all Christendom, to wit, the Roman Pontiff, the Catholic successor of the Prince of the Apostles, and, with all his power, to induce the Oriental Church to follow his example." He had determined, he continued, to act thus because he believed it would be for the good of the Empire and his own everlasting glory, "if in his time and by his efforts the seamless garment of the Lord were made whole again."³

In a letter written to the Pope presumably about the same time, the Crusaders,⁴ in their own way, told him what had happened after their departure "from the city of transgression," *i.e.*, as they explained, Zara, "the destruction of which, under compulsion, we beheld with grief." Convinced, they declared, that, in the state of

¹ C. 26. Cf. Rob. de Clary, c. 40.

² Rob. de Clary, c. 43. "Or estoit li pors de Constantinoble moult bien fremes d'une moult grosse caaine de fer."

³ Inter epp. Inn., vi. 210.

⁴ *Ib.*, vi. 211.

want to which they had been reduced, they would be a burden rather than a help to the Holy Land, they had decided to restore the exiled Alexius IV., who was anxiously awaited in Constantinople by the great majority. To their great amazement, however, they said, when they reached the city, they found that the usurper had meanwhile turned the people against Alexius by telling them that the Latins were going to subject them to the Pope. They had therefore been compelled to restore Alexius by force; but in all they had done they had invariably been favoured by Providence. Alexius had behaved very well to them, and was going to march with them to the Holy Land as soon as his position was assured.

The means used by Alexius IV. to reach the throne were not likely to commend him to the people of Constantinople, and his efforts to fulfil his obligations to the Crusaders roused general opposition to him. The laity were infuriated against him by the extortionate methods to which he had recourse to pay his debts, and the clergy by his attempts to subject them to the See of Rome.¹ He had to implore the Crusaders to remain in the neighbourhood of Constantinople.

The general discontent at length took form and substance. Alexius Murzuphlus deposed and strangled Alexius IV., and was himself crowned as Alexius V. in January 1204. He even made an attempt to come to an understanding with the chiefs of the Crusaders. But the negotiations were soon abandoned, as the usurper made it plain that he would sooner die and see the overthrow of the Empire than behold "the Oriental Church subject to Latin bishops."²

They are
dethroned,
Jan. 1204.

¹ Nicetas, pp. 729, 734 f., 740, etc. Cf. Pears, p. 317.

² "Obedientiam Romanæ Ecclesiæ . . . adeo refutavit ut vitam amittere præligeret, Græciamque subverti quam quod Latinis ponti-

The Crusaders sack Constantinople, April 1204.

The Crusading chiefs had now excuse enough for attacking the city. Villehardouin declares, in vague terms indeed, that even "all those who had papal powers" (c. 48) assured "the pilgrims" that they had ample reason for attacking the city, and would by so doing merit the indulgences granted to those who fought the infidel.

After it had been decided to elect an emperor from among themselves who was to have a quarter of the Empire (Romania),¹ whilst the other leaders were to have the rest, and after various privileges had been assigned to the Venetians, the marquis of Montferrat, heedless as before of papal prohibitions, let loose the dogs of war against the unfortunate city.² It was heroically carried by assault. Murzuphlus fled, and Constantinople, so long the bulwark of Christianity, was delivered over to the flames and to the passions of the soldiery (April 12). Gunther, whose abbot Martin did not scruple to carry off relics of the saints, speaks as though only a few of the people were killed ;³ and Villehardouin, Robert de Clary,⁴ and other Western writers pass over the details of the sacking of the city altogether. But, whether many or comparatively few non-combatants were killed, the evidence, not merely of the Greek, Nicetas, but of many *ficibus orientalis ecclesia subderetur.*" The letter of the new Latin emperor Baldwin to the Pope. Ep. Inn., vii. 152. Cf. Nicetas, pp. 751-2.

¹ Gunther, c. 16. Constantinople, he says, "quandoque altera Roma dicta est, et terra ei adjacens hodieque Romania vocatur."

² Rob. de Clary, c. 68. The *Chron. Novgorod.* twice speaks of the Franks being unmindful of the Pope's prohibition to attack the city, pp. 94 and 95.

³ C. 11, "Paucorum cæde"; but in c. 18 he says that, though "paucissimi" were killed by the Crusaders, "some 2000 citizens" were slain by Latin residents in Constantinople, who thus revenged themselves for wrongs real or imaginary which had been inflicted on them.

⁴ But even Robert in an *obiter dictum*, speaks of the "oribles pekies qu'il avoient fais en le chite, apres chou qu'il eurent prise." C. 112.

Latin writers,¹ and especially of Pope Innocent, shows that, after the capture of the city, it was sacked with all the horrible circumstances usual on such occasions. Not merely was no secular property sacred, not merely were lay women violated, but the ornaments of the churches and the possessions of the clergy were seized, and virgins dedicated to God were treated in the same outrageous manner as their sisters in the world. It seemed to the Crusaders that, because the Greeks were schismatics, all was lawful against them. They are said to have rifled the very tombs of dead emperors; and even men who were under normal circumstances exceptionally good, did not hesitate to steal relics which they believed the Greeks were unworthy to possess.²

As soon as law and order had been restored in the captured city, Baldwin, count of Flanders, was elected emperor,³ and crowned a week afterwards (May 16). The rival candidate for the throne was the commander-in-chief of the Crusading army, Boniface of Montferrat, who in accordance with an agreement made before the election, had to be content with a portion which was not in the hands of the Crusaders to give, *i.e.*, with the imperial territories on the "Turkish" side of the Bosphorus and "the isle of Greece," or the Peloponnesus.⁴ This portion was afterwards exchanged for the kingdom of Salonica.⁵

After the election of Baldwin as emperor, the Venetians, who had taken so commanding a part throughout the whole of this misdirected Crusade, took upon themselves to appoint a patriarch. Telling the Franks that, as they had the emperor, they would have the patriarch, they put

The first
Latin em-
peror of
Constanti-
nople,
1204.

Tommaso
Morosini
elected
patriarch,
1204.

¹ *Gesta*, c. 93.

² Cf. Riant, *Les dépouilles, etc.*, p. 22 ff.

³ Ernoul, c. 33, p. 376. "Si eslut on le conte Bauduin de Flandres, à empereur, et porta corone."

⁴ Villehardouin, c. 57.

⁵ Ville., c. 58.

their clergy in possession of the church of Sophia.¹ The Venetian canons promptly elected as the new patriarch one of their countrymen, Tommaso Morosini. But, says the author of the *Devastatio*, "a schism was thereby (for a time)² caused between our clergy and the Venetians. Our clergy appealed (to Rome), and reserved to the lord Pope the appointment to the patriarchate,"³ while Tommaso with the envoys of the new emperor and of Dandolo set out for Rome to obtain the confirmation of his election.

Action of Innocent with regard to the first seizure of Constantinople, and the restoration of Alexius IV., 1204.

This mention of the lord Pope naturally leads us to ask what had Innocent been thinking and doing while these momentous events were in progress. Having but little doubt after the termination of the Zara incident that the Christian army would at length proceed to the East, he sent on before it to the Holy Land cardinals Peter of Capua (Capuano) and Soffredus (April 1203).⁴ By August 10, he had heard a report that the Crusaders "had turned aside to Greece,"⁵ but, even by January 23, 1204, he was seemingly still ignorant that Alexius IV. had by that time already

¹ This was really only in accordance with the original convention between the Venetians and the other Crusaders previous to the sacking of Constantinople. See inter epp. Inn., vii. 205, for the full text of the agreement.

² *Devast.*, sub fin. "Clerus noster appellavit, et preordinationem ecclesie b. Sophie domno pape reservavit." Dandolo, *Chron.*, l. x. c. 2, n. 38, says nothing of this schism, but after the notice of the election adds: "Electus (the new patriarch) quoque electioni consentiens cum imperialibus et Ducis nuntiis pro obtinenda confirmatione Romam perrexit." Cf. ep. Inn., vii. 203, January 21, 1205; *Gesta*, c. 100.

³ "For a time" we insert, because Innocent says (vii. 203) that the opposition and appeal were subsequently withdrawn—no doubt when it became clear that the election had been made in accordance with the compact between the "Franks" and the Venetians.

⁴ *Gesta*, c. 88; epp. v. 26, 27. The Pope gave them 2400 pounds for their own needs and those of the Holy Land. For the date of Peter's departure, cf. Gunther, c. 9, and ep. vi. 48, and Tessier, p. 266 ff.

⁵ Ep. vi. 130. "Exercitus signatorum in Græciam dicitur divertisse."

been forcibly placed on the throne of Constantinople by the Crusaders, and that the fleet had not continued its voyage to the Holy Land.¹ It appears to have been only at the end of the month that he received the official letters, already quoted,² relating to the restoration of Alexius IV., and to the reunion of the churches.³

Merely arguing from the version of the restoration of Alexius IV. furnished him by that prince and by the Crusaders, Innocent expressed himself as anything but satisfied with what had happened.⁴ Two points were clear even from the official letters. The Crusaders had not proceeded against the Moslem after their departure from Zara, but had again attacked a Christian people. Innocent could not, of course, from the meagre data furnished him, pretend to be able to give an absolute judgment on their conduct, but he gave them to understand that he believed that their pretended zeal for the

¹ Ep. vi. 209, January 23, 1204. The Pope is writing to Cardinal Peter C., and does not appear to know, any more than his correspondent, whether the Crusaders are in the neighbourhood of the Holy Land. "Dubitas . . . si vel exercitus ad partes Hierosolymitanas accesserit," etc.

² *Supra*, p. 256.

³ With reference to the tardy reception of these letters by the Pope, it may be noted that the messengers of the Crusaders would naturally not be in a hurry to reach the Pope, and that the disturbances in the East caused by the action of the Crusaders would increase the natural difficulties of communication. On these *cf. supra*, vol. i. pt. i. p. 129 f., and the remark of Pears (p. 378): "Within the recollection of men still living it was not unusual for ships to have to wait two months before being able to pass through the Dardanelles." Tessier (p. 287 ff.) believes that the said letters were received in October, and that the Pope's replies (epp. vi. 229-231, which are unfortunately undated) were sent off in October also, and (ep. vi. 232) a little earlier than the other three. But, in view especially of ep. vi. 209 quoted above, we prefer the date given in the text, which is more in accordance with the generally accepted date. *Cf. Potthast*, n. 2122 ff.

⁴ In letters addressed to the marquis of Montferrat and to the bishops who came to him from the Crusaders at Zara to seek for absolution for them. Epp. 230-2.

union of the two churches was merely a pretext to cover a second transgression of his orders, and that consequently they were still under excommunication, as he had clearly laid down that the absolution extended to them at Zara was granted strictly on condition that they should not again attack a Christian people.¹ Their zeal, if true, for their mother the Roman Church, may extenuate their conduct, but they must bewail their wrong-doing, so that with clean hearts they may be able to devote themselves with all their might to the recovery of the Holy Land. In his reply to Alexius IV., the Pope exhorted him to let his actions correspond with his words.²

Innocent
and the
sack of
"New
Rome,"
1204.

If Innocent was annoyed at the forcible restoration of Alexius, his indignation at the second storming of Constantinople and at the horrors of its sack may be easily imagined.

After the installation of the new emperor of Constantinople, and the election of a Latin patriarch, the Crusading chiefs lost no time in trying to obtain the Pope's approval. Baldwin "ever Augustus" sent a long and deferential³ letter to the Pope, in which he assured him that no sooner had they placed Alexius IV. on the

¹ Ep. vi. 230. "Quia veremur vos iterato excommunicationis esse labe pollutos," began Innocent's letter to the leaders of the Crusade. And because he feared they were under excommunication he would not give them the apostolic benediction. Regarding their insistence that Alexius should obey him as Head of the Church, "valde tamen præsumitur a quibusdam quod id potius *ad excusationem vestram feceritis*." If the *conduct* of the new Greek emperor and the new Greek patriarch should not prove their earnestness, it would be clear that "primæ transgressioni, quam apud Jaderam incurritis, videbimini addidisse secundam, dum arma . . . in Christianorum excidium iterum convertistis." The letters (vi. 231-2) to the bishops are to the same effect, but in them he added the remark that his absolution at Zara was given on condition that there should be no more attacks on Christians.

² Ep. vi. 229.

³ Inter epp. Inn., vii. 152. "Cum devota semper obsequii voluntate oſcula pedum"—ran the address,

throne "by the help of God," than, "Greek in everything," he repaid them with the usual Greek perfidy. But the Greeks would not keep peace either with themselves or with the Crusaders. Among themselves Murzuphlus arose, and strangled Alexius, and then attacked us. We retaliated, and "unanimously" assaulted the city "for the honour of the Holy Roman Church and for the advantage of the Holy Land."¹ After some severe fighting we captured the city and an enormous amount of booty. Then was the writer unanimously chosen king, and crowned even amid the applause of the Greeks,—again, "for the honour of God and of the Holy Roman Church and for the advantage of the Holy Land." Now, continued the new emperor, the city which had so long been hostile to the holy places would be their real friend.

After denouncing the Greeks especially for their hostility to the See of Rome, for their refusing to make images of our Lord, and for their abuse of the Latins, Baldwin assured the Pope that the Lord had punished them through the Latins, and had given him a glorious land. As soon as he had settled it, he would proceed to the Holy Land. Meanwhile, he begged the Pope to be a partaker in the great work that had been accomplished by sending out people to defend and colonise the new possessions,² and priests and monks to convert the inhabitants. Finally, as a last inducement to catch the Pope, Baldwin pointed out how much it would conduce

¹ "Unanimiter pro honore S. R. Ecclesiæ et subventionē terræ sanctæ navali prælio invadimus civitatem." From Innocent's letter to Boniface (viii. 133, about the end of August 1205), it appears that he also had written in the same strain to the Pope, and had endeavoured to impress upon him that his chief object in all he did was to heal the Greek schism: "ut per vos innobedientiæ filii redirent ad obedientiam matris suæ."

² They would come "ad veras immensasque divitias capessendas, *temporales pariter et æternas.*"

to the good of the Church and the glory of the Roman See if Innocent would convene a General Council at Constantinople, and preside over it in person. "Now, Holy Father," he cried, "now is the acceptable time, now is the day of salvation." In conclusion, he impressed upon the Pope that all his clergy were eagerly awaiting the apostolic benediction for all they had done.¹

Somewhat later, apparently, the marquis of Montferrat and the other leaders wrote to Innocent to the same effect.² Moreover, in order the better to be able to ward off the wrath of the Pope, the Crusading leaders sent to Palestine for the legate Peter of Capua. This they did in the assured hope of being more easily able to circumvent the cardinal, and thus of compromising Innocent. After making a truce with the Saracens for six years, Peter, along with his fellow-legate Soffredus and a very large number of others, came to Constantinople in obedience to the summons, and proceeded to deal with the many political and ecclesiastical questions which were brought before him.³

Innocent's
first replies
to the
Crusaders'
letters.

Ignorant of what had really taken place at Constantinople, and with little more than the official letters of the Crusaders to guide him, Innocent may well have been literally overwhelmed with the news that reached him from the "city guarded by God." Not only his biographer⁴ but he himself says that he, "along with all

¹ Valuable presents sent to the Pope with the letter (a carbuncle which cost 1000 marks of silver, costly icons, a relic of the true Cross, precious stones and ecclesiastical plate, 50 marks of silver, etc.) were plundered by certain Genoese freebooters. Cf. ep. vii. 147, November 4, 1204.

² Cf. the Pope's reply, viii. 133, c. end August 1205; and ep. vii. 203, January 21, 1205.

³ *Gesta*, c. 95. Cf. epp. vii. 223 and viii. 125-6. Soffredus soon left Constantinople for Rome.

⁴ *Gesta*, c. 93. "Cœpit vehementissime dubitare, quid in tanto negotio sibi foret agendum."

those who were with him, was utterly astounded " at the miraculous news which had been sent to him.¹

Acting under the influence of the clever letters he had received from Baldwin and the other leaders, he wrote " to the illustrious emperor of Constantinople " saying practically in Baldwin's own words that he was rejoiced that God had wrought such wonders through him " to the honour and glory of His name, to the advantage of the Apostolic See, and to the profit of the people of Christendom." Relying on his devotion to the Roman Church, he declared that he would take himself and his territories under his protection, and would exhort the Crusaders to protect that empire, by which the Holy Land might be more easily freed from the hands " of the pagans." Finally, he exhorted the new emperor to restore the Greek empire to the obedience of the Roman Church, and to guard the ecclesiastical property till such times as he could make arrangements with regard to it, " so that without any confusion there may be rendered to Cæsar what is Cæsar's, and to God what is God's." ²

But when Innocent came to treat of the election of the patriarch, Tommaso, " our subdeacon," he pointed out to the clergy of Constantinople that, though he had no objection to Tommaso himself, he had condemned his election, as it was uncanonical for a patriarch to be elected by the authority of any secular prince.³ Besides, the Venetian clerics who elected him had no right to do so, as they had not in any way been instituted canons of

Innocent
on the
election
of the
patriarch
Morosini.

¹ " Magno quippe stupore circumdor, cum omnibus qui sunt mecum, pro tanti miraculi novitate quod diebus istis evenit." Ep. vii. 203 to the clergy at Constantinople, January 21, 1205.

² Ep. vii. 153, November 7, 1204. In his letter (November 13, 1204) to the Crusading clergy, while expressing joy at the transference of the Greek empire to the Latins, he speaks of the errors of the Greeks relative to the procession of the Holy Ghost: vii. 154.

³ " Auctoritate alicujus principis sæcularis in Constantinopolitana ecclesia nec debuerat, nec potuerat eligi patriarcha." *ib.*

St. Sophia by him. However, as the present was not a time for delay, he would himself, "from the plenitude of power conferred upon him," elect Tommaso in conformity with the emperor's wishes.¹

Accordingly, on mid-Lent Sunday (1205), he himself consecrated Tommaso in St. Peter's, and gave him the pallium,² as well as the power to grant it in turn to his suffragan archbishops.³

Severe
letters of
Innocent,
1205.

By degrees the truth about the establishment of the Latin rule in Constantinople began to find its way to the Pope, and then he gave full vent to his vexation. As early as February 17, 1205, Cardinal Peter had been blamed for leaving Palestine without the Pope's permission.⁴ Some five months later, when Innocent had learnt all the truth about the fall of Constantinople, Peter was blamed still more strongly. Especially was the Pope angry with him for daring to absolve from their Crusading vows such as had stayed a year for the defence of Constantinople. These men, he exclaimed indignantly, have been looking after their temporal advantages. Their conduct has caused him to fail just where he had hoped to succeed. How can the Greek Church return to the unity of the Apostolic See, after the Latins have done such deeds of darkness that it may justly loathe them more than dogs? Reeking with Christian blood, they regarded neither religion, nor age, nor sex; in their adulteries they spared not even virgins consecrated to God, and in their plunderings, not content with the riches of the great and of the small, they feared not to lay

¹ Cf. his letter to Baldwin himself, vii. 204 and viii. 135, and also xi. 76. But he was careful to point out that he did not wish his conduct on this occasion to form a precedent, but wished that future vacancies in the see should be filled by the usual canonical election. viii. 25.

² *Gesta*, c. 98. Cf. Innocent's letters of March 30, 1205, addressed to Tommaso, viii. 19-24, granting him various privileges.

³ viii. 19.

⁴ viii. 223, February 17, 1205.

their hands on the possessions of the Church, nor even to plunder the very altars themselves.¹

As soon as the new legate, Benedict, cardinal-priest of St. Susanna, reaches Constantinople, Peter must return to Palestine at once.²

Not long after,³ he wrote a similar letter⁴ to Boniface of Montferrat, which, with Pears,⁵ we may say, "will ever remain as a monument of just scorn, and of the lofty statesmanship of the greatest man of his time." "Without having any jurisdiction or power over the Greeks," cried the Pope, "you rashly violated the purity of your vows; and, turning your arms not against the Saracens but against Christians, you applied yourselves not to the recovery of Jerusalem, but to seize Constantinople, preferring earthly to heavenly riches." He then repeated the vigorous denunciation which he had already sent to Cardinal Peter of the outrages committed by the Crusaders when they took Constantinople. But still it was possible (though he could not say it was certain, as he was still without complete knowledge of what had happened)⁶ that the Greeks had suffered by a just judgment of God for refusing to return to the unity of the Church, and to give succour to the Holy Land.⁷ However, concluded the Pope, giving a definite answer to Boniface, "leaving aside doubtful issues," we consider that, if you would consult the interests of the Holy Land, of the Apostolic See, and of yourselves, you should defend the territory which has

¹ As late as January 13, 1207, we find Innocent confirming a sentence of excommunication against certain Venetians for stealing from St. Sophia relics and a certain famous icon of our Lady. ix. 243.

² Ep. viii. 126. Benedict had been commissioned May 15, 1205. Cf. viii. 55.

³ Potthast says between August 16 and September 7, 1205.

⁴ viii. 133.

⁵ P. 382.

⁶ "Nos, de tam profundo iudicio nolentes temere iudicare, præsertim antequam de veritate negotii plenius instruamur," etc. viii. 133.

⁷ Cf. ep. xi. 47, to Theodore Lascaris,

been acquired by the will of God,¹ rule your subjects with justice, restore the property of the Church, atone for the wrongs you have probably committed in effecting this conquest, and devote your attention to the good of the Holy Land, for there is every hope that it may be easily recovered by means of the country you have acquired.²

Later
efforts of
Innocent
for a Cru-
sade.

Though these letters furnish a plain indication of Innocent's annoyance at the turn events had taken, they also supply clear evidence that he saw the necessity of accepting the situation. He was certainly distressed at the failure of the Crusade, for even when he refused to absolve the aged hero Dandolo from his vow to fight the Moslem, he had to acknowledge that he believed that the expedition as a Crusade was doomed. He had to declare his conviction that "the Crusaders intended to defer their pilgrimage and to remain for a further length of time in the parts of Romania to consolidate the Empire."³ Still undoubtedly, as Pears puts it, "his letters leave the impression that he never ceased to regret the failure of the Crusade, which had been so carefully organised, and from which so much might reasonably be expected. . . . In the comprehension of the Eastern question of his day, and of what statesmanship required for the interests of Europe and of civilisation, he seems to stand, at the opening of the thirteenth century, head and shoulders above all other kings and potentates."⁴

¹ Already, in accordance with the request of the emperor, Innocent had appealed to France to send men to Constantinople, in order that, after the settling of that kingdom, Baldwin might be able to proceed to the rescue of Jerusalem. Ep. viii. 69, May 25, 1205.

² The next letter (viii. 134) is addressed to Boniface's wife, who was the widow of the late emperor Isaac. It praises her for returning to the Latin rite.

³ Ep. vii. 206, January 29, 1205.

⁴ P. 398. The persistence of the "Eastern question" was much impressed upon me when I was writing these lines by the fact that the Balkan allies were then besieging Adrianople, Wednesday, October 30, 1912.

Nevertheless, although the Fourth Crusade had proved such a miserable failure, both from a political and from a religious point of view, Innocent did not lose heart. He felt, indeed, the awkward condition in which the guile and folly of others had placed him. But though, in the year 1205, he could ask with bitterness "with what face could he again appeal to the peoples of the West to go to the succour of the Holy Land,"¹ we find him a few years later endeavouring once more to arouse the nations to make another effort for the defence of the Holy Land. He was afraid that "if the Saracens seized the remnant (*residuum*) of the Holy Land . . . the Christians would have no occasion for betaking themselves thither, and that hence the Greeks would recover the Empire of Constantinople."²

One of the thoughts which had reconciled him to the unfortunate attack on Constantinople was the hope that it would prove a centre whence vigorous attacks could be made upon the Moslem power. Of this, too, the Moslems themselves were much afraid.³ Even in 1207 he still hoped that the Crusaders who had settled there might be able to fulfil their vows and march to the help of the Holy Land.⁴ But, as time went on, he perceived that Constantinople was much more likely to divert men from the Holy Land than to send them to it.⁵ He

¹ Ep. viii. 126.

² viii. 125.

³ "Saphidinus . . . postquam Constantinopolitanæ urbis captionem audivit, adeo cum omnibus Saracenis indoluit, ut maluissent Hierusalem occupatam esse a Christianis, quam Constantinopolim a Latinis. Statimque . . . ipsemet . . . longe lateque discurrit ut contra Christianos confœderet universos." Ep. viii. 125, 1205, c. July. Cf. *Gesta*, c. 105.

⁴ Ep. x. 38.

⁵ Cf. Villehardouin, c. 88. Cf. ep. of the Emperor Henry to Innocent. "Nisi patrocínio vestro terra et imperium nostrum totius Romanicæ regatur, non est dubium quin succumbat." Inter epp. Inn., xi. 207, September 1208. Cf. viii. 125.

himself had already appealed to Europe to help the Latin emperors of Constantinople,¹ and they were to follow his example.

It was necessary, therefore, for Innocent to look elsewhere for help for the Holy Land,² and he turned again especially to France.³ By the death of Amaury II. of Lusignan (1205) the kingdom of Jerusalem fell to the lot of his stepdaughter Maria. At the time there was peace in the Holy Land. The fall of Constantinople had for the moment frightened the Moslems, and they had agreed to a truce for six years (1204-1210). Seeing that the days of the truce were running out, the barons of the kingdom both appealed to the Pope for help,⁴ and asked Philip of France to recommend a suitable spouse for their queen. He fixed upon John of Brienne, of whom along with his brother Walter we have already spoken. These events gave Innocent another favourable opportunity for interesting himself in the affairs of the Holy Land. As John, the third merely titular king of Jerusalem, was a subject of Philip of France, the Pope once more endeavoured to interest that monarch in Palestine. He pointed out to him what an honour it was that the king of Jerusalem should come from his kingdom as "from a public treasury of men." He urged him to support John, in order to increase his own glory, already, except for the matter of his divorce, so transcendent;⁵ and, in order to move him by example, he told him that he was

¹ viii. 69.

² xi. 184-5.

³ viii. 125.

⁴ Innocent tells Simon de Montfort he cannot give him all the help he would like against the Albigenses "*propter necessitatem urgentissimam terræ sanctæ per magnos et speciales nuntios ad nos inde transmissos.*" Ep. xii. 123, November 11, 1209.

⁵ "*Sola denique, quod tristes referimus, causa conjugii maculam in gloria tua posuit, quam utinam satagas absolvere.*" Ep. xii. 27 April 23, 1209.

lending John the sum of fourteen hundred marks of silver.¹ But from this effort no particular result followed. The truce with the Saracens, which expired in 1210, was not renewed,² and, after his marriage with the young Queen Mary (September 1210), John took the field. He was not, however, able to accomplish much, and at length in 1212 appealed to the Pope for help.³

For some years difficulties with the Emperor Otho and with the Albigensians had prevented Innocent from taking active measures on behalf of the Holy Land. Besides, the proclamation of "Crusades" against the pagan Prussians and the heretical Albigensians was not calculated either to keep Christian effort concentrated or to maintain the lofty ideal hitherto connected in the minds of men with the holy war. Encouraged, however, by the fact that the youthful Frederick II. in Germany had taken the Cross after his coronation (December 1212);⁴ inspired by the great Spanish victory over the Moors at Las Navas de Tolosa (1212); and urged by the appeal of John de Brienne, he in 1213 again took up the cause of the Holy Land. "He sent word throughout all Christendom to the best clerks whom he knew to preach the cross *d'Outremer*. Moreover, he despatched cardinals

Special efforts made by Innocent from 1213 till his death.

¹ *Ib.* Cf. xii. 8 and 28. In the latter letter he tells the patriarch of Jerusalem that he is sending him 2206½ obols "inter novos, veteres atque duplices, novem skifatos, septem marabutinos, et præterea in skifatis et auro fracto ad pondus Romanum uncias octoginta, quæ omnia summam octingentorum quinquaginta librarum Proveniensium senatus attingunt." He also alludes to other sums that he has sent or is going to send for the benefit of the Holy Land. The mark at this period was worth about 52 francs.

² Ernoul, c. 35, p. 409, says it was the Saracens who broke the truce when they heard of John's arrival.

³ *Ib.* "Li rois Jehans, qui a Acre estoit, manda á l'aposole, por Diu, qu'il le secourust." In 1211 (June 7) the Pope had endeavoured to stir up the Christian Georgians to give help to John. Ep. xiv. 68.

⁴ *Ib.*, c. 34, p. 401. "Tantost que li rois fu coronés, si se croisa, et vov á Dame Diu qu'il iroit en le tiere de Promission."

to comfort us, and to confirm what was done by the preachers, and many took the Cross in many lands."¹ His letters were directed to every country. "Because," he cried, "there is greater need than ever for succour to be given to the Holy Land, and because greater advantage than ever is hoped to be reaped from that succour, do I cry to you with renewed vigour, and for Him do I cry who with a loud voice yielded up His soul on the Cross." The Saracens, he said, were seriously threatening Acre, which they hoped soon to capture, and then to possess themselves of the remaining remnant of the Holy Land still left to the Christians. He called upon clergy and laity alike to furnish as large a body of armed men as they could, for three years, and he begged the maritime cities to supply ships.² He revoked all the indulgences granted to those who should fight against the Moors in Spain or against the heretics in Provence, except in the case of the peoples themselves of those countries. The indulgences³ could only be gained by fighting against the Saracens in the East. Finally, to secure the help of God, he ordered fasts, almsgiving, solemn processions and prayers, especially at the time of the Communion in Mass, "when the saving Victim is about to be received."⁴

¹ Ernoul, c. 35, p. 410. Cf. Peter des Vaux de Cernai, *Hist. Albigen-sium*, c. 70. One of the principal preachers of this Crusade was the learned James de Vitry (maistres Jakes de Viteri), who at the command of the Pope afterwards accepted the bishopric of Acre, and after his resignation was made a cardinal. Ernoul, *ib.* He was the historian of the Fifth Crusade. Cf. ep. xvi. 29.

² Cf. ep. xvi. 179.

³ Some of the preachers had to be called to order by the papal legates for exaggerating the indulgences offered. Cf. Reiner, *Ann.*, 1214, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. p. 673. Occasionally the legates themselves had to be reminded to be moderate. Cf. ep. 190 (May 14, 1214, ap. *P. L.*, t. 217) to Cardinal Rob. de Courçon: "Nos enim prædicto legato præcipimus, ut adhuc super his, quantum cum Deo potest, necessarium adhibeat moderamen."

⁴ Ep. xvi. 28, May 1213. Cf. ep. xv. 211. Cf. *Ann. Stadenses*, and Reiner, *Ann.*, an. 1214, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. pp. 356 and 667. One

Innocent also wrote to Saladin's brother urging him to give up Jerusalem and its territories in order to avoid further bloodshed. He assured him that its detention would bring him more trouble than profit.¹ If this letter did nothing else, it no doubt served to deepen the conviction, already very justly entertained by the Saracens, that the Popes were the cause of the Crusades, and to strengthen their resolve to revenge themselves upon them. Already the Emir Amuminin or Anasir (the Almohade, Mohammed an Nasir) had proclaimed that he had been assured that the Crusades were the work of the Lord of Rome, and he affirmed that the Saracens would never rest till they had taken Rome, and "handed over its Lord to contumely and misery."²

The great Lateran Council which Innocent summoned to meet in 1215 occupied itself with the new Crusade. The Pope himself urged it upon the assembled fathers in his opening discourse;³ and the Council, adopting the unhappy result of the preaching of the Cross on this occasion was the *Crusade of Children* which Innocent did his best to check. Cf., e.g., *Ann. S. Rudberti*, an. 1212, ap. *M. G. SS.*, ix. It is mentioned by nearly all the chronicles of the time. Cf. Alberic. trium font., *Chron.*, an. 1212, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxiii. p. 893.

¹ Ep. xvi. 37, April 26, 1213.

² "Trademus Dominum Romæ contumeliis et miseriis." The proclamation is dated: "Data apud Ispaldem, 8 Idus Octobris," i.e., Seville, October 8, ap. *Annal. contin. Lambacensis*, 1212, in *M. G. SS.*, ix. p. 557. This Amuminin is the same as the Miralimomelin (sultan of Morocco) of Cæsar of Heisterbach, who says that he sent word to Innocent that he would stable his horses in the portico of St. Peter, and fix his banner upon it. The latter part of his threat was fulfilled, but not in the manner the sultan intended. He was defeated in his attempt to come to the help of the Albigensians, and his royal standard, sent as a present to the Pope, was hung up in St. Peter's. *Dialogus Mirac.*, v. c. 21. Cæsar refers to the famous battle of Las Navas de Tolosa.

³ Ap. Ric. de S. Germ., *Chron.*, an. 1215. "Triplex enim phase sive pascha desidero celebrare vobiscum, corporale, spirituale et eternale; corporale, ut fiat transitus de loco ad locum pro miserabili Jerosolima liberanda."

recommendations made in the Pope's letters, fixed the departure of the Crusade for June 1217. The Crusaders were to assemble in Sicily, where Innocent announced that he would meet them.¹ He also promised them thirty thousand pounds on his own account, and three thousand marks of silver which he had received in alms, as well as transport for the Crusaders from Rome and the district. The clergy had to give a twentieth, and the Pope himself and the cardinals a tenth. It was also decreed that there must be peace throughout Christendom for four years at least.²

According to the Annals of Reiner, Innocent induced well-nigh "the whole world" to take the Cross;³ and, as a matter of fact, an armament (known as the Fifth Crusade), in which figured Andrew, king of Hungary; Leopold, duke of Austria; Ranulf, earl of Chester, and many other great nobles, left Europe for the Holy Land in 1217.⁴ It was not, indeed, the overwhelming host which Innocent had hoped to bring together. Europe was surely, if slowly, dividing into clearly defined and sharply distinct nations which, daily becoming more and more conscious of their own separate existence, were daily thinking more and more of their own private interests, and less and less of the general good. And yet, in spite of the innumerable difficulties⁵ which this process of division brought

¹ Cf. ep. Inn., December 14, 1215, ap. Potthast, 5012; and Hefele, *Conciles*, viii. 154 ff.

² Cf. *ib.*, pp. 156-7. Hefele gives the actual text of this papal decree.

³ Ad an. 1216, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. pp. 674-5.

⁴ "Li premiers haus hom qui passa de cele croiserie, ce fu li rois de Hongerie. . . . Et grans gens passerent de toutes tierres a cel passage où li rois passa." Ernoul, c. 35, p. 410.

⁵ Some of these difficulties are well brought out in a letter of the Premonstratensian abbot Gervase to Innocent—*e.g.*, the slackness of the nobles, national jealousies. Concerning the first point, we may note that Luchaire would appear to have in one particular misread Gervase. The University of Paris (*Magistri Parisienses*) had published a decision

about, the incomparable energy of Innocent III. succeeded in a comparatively short time in organising two Crusades. What other man, it may be asked, has ever accomplished such a gigantic task? That the result of his efforts in the case of the second of his Crusades was not commensurate with his efforts, Innocent did not live to see. He died about a year before the new Crusade left the shores of Europe. But nevertheless to the historians of the East the men of this Crusade were emphatically the soldiers of the Pope.¹

relative to the sin committed by those Crusaders who did not depart at the appointed time. Gervase adds: "Magnates autem, de quibus pro majore parte constat quod non ibunt, non multum curant de assignatione Parisiensium, *quia* nec spiritualem pœnam a vobis, nec a terrenis dominis temporalem in se metuunt descensuram." After mentioning the fact that the nobles did not heed the Paris decision, Luchaire (iv. 297) continues: "ils ne redoutent ni le châtement spirituel qui peut venir de votre main ni la contrainte des pouvoirs temporels." Gervase says nothing of the kind. He says that the nobles did **not** heed the Paris decision, *because* they had no reason to fear that either the Pope or their temporal lords would punish them. He does not say that they did not fear the Pope's punishment. Cf. his letter, ap. *R. F. SS.*, xix. p. 605.

¹ The important Arabic historian Ibn-Wasil (†1297-8), an eye-witness of much of what he has to say, who had spoken to many of the companions of Saladin, says that the Franks of 1217 came from Rome the Great (Roumiyya-al-koubrâ), where reigned one of their most powerful sovereigns, who was known under the name of Pope (*bābā*). Cited by Blochet in his translation of the first part of Makrizi's *Hist. d'Égypte*, p. 311 n., Paris, 1908.

CHAPTER II.

THE NEW LATIN KINGDOM OF CONSTANTINOPLE. ORGANISATION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

The
patriarch
of Constan-
tinople.

IN 1204, as we have seen, the Latins took Constantinople, and elected a Latin emperor who, under the terms of partition agreed to by the conquerors, was intended to have under his direct control Constantinople, with the Thracian territories surrounding it, several of the more important islands, and the portions of Asia Minor which were subject to the Byzantine Empire at the time of the conquest of Constantinople. But the establishment of the new Greek Empire of Trebizond, and of that of Nicæa, by Theodore Lascaris, son-in-law of the Emperor Alexius III., and the ablest of the Greek fugitives from Constantinople, practically limited this immediate jurisdiction of the new Latin emperor to his European dominions.

Following up their capture of Constantinople, the "Franks" turned their attention to Greece; and, "almost without an effort, a small body of Lombards, Burgundians, and Germans overran continental Greece and the Morea."¹ A "new France" was thus established in Greece, and we hear of feudal "lords or dukes of Athens," "princes of all Achaia," "dukes of the Archipelago," and the like. And, as the civil administration of the Byzantine Empire went to pieces under the on-

¹ Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, p. 40. I should say that Mr. Miller's work is one of the most satisfactory historical works which have been published in English in recent years.

slaught of the feudal warriors of the West, so also, though not perhaps to such a large extent, its ecclesiastical. Most of the Byzantine bishops fled from the lands where the Frank erected his feudal castle,¹ and betook themselves to countries where their countrymen still held sway. It devolved, therefore, upon Innocent to organise the establishment of a hierarchy of the Latin rite in southern Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece. In doing so, his first care would naturally be the see which was to rule over this area, the patriarchal see of Constantinople. We have already told how he himself elected the Venetian, Tommaso Morosini, to be the first Latin patriarch,²—a man in whom he saw noble birth, good character, prudence, and sufficient learning,³ but in whom the spiteful Greek, Nicetas, could only see a clean-shaved, grossly fat man whose garments fitted him so closely that they seemed to have been sewn upon him.⁴

The Pope's action with regard to the election of Tommaso did not please the Venetians. They wished to have a patriarch wholly dependent upon themselves, one who would make it his first concern to look after their interests. Accordingly, when Morosini passed through Venice on his way from Rome back to Constantinople, he was detained there. Advantage was taken of monetary difficulties in which he was involved to compel him to swear that he would appoint only Venetians to be canons of St. Sophia, and would do all he could to ensure that only Venetians should be made patriarchs.⁵

¹ Cf., e.g., vii. 164. Ep. x. 51.

² *Supra*, p. 266.

³ Ep. vii. 203.

⁴ Nicetas, p. 824. Cf. p. 854.

⁵ Ep. ix. 130, in which Innocent declares this "compulsory" oath null and void. "The sanctuary of God," said the Pope, "is not an heirloom." June 21, 1206. He was also said to have promised not to consent that any one who was not a Venetian should be made a bishop "throughout the whole of Romania." Cf. xii. 105, which is about this same topic, and not "de negotio terræ sanctæ," according

The Venetians try to force Tommaso to do their will.

Schism in
the Church
of Constantinople.

Even when he reached Constantinople, the new patriarch's difficulties were not over. A number of the Frankish clergy, declaring that he had obtained his consecration by fraud, would not obey him, and, because they had appealed to Rome against him, would not take any notice of the sentence of excommunication which he pronounced against them.¹ They were supported, to some extent at least, by the legate Peter. However, the tact of the new legate, Benedict, cardinal-priest of St. Susanna, quickly put an end to the schism,² and left Tommaso at liberty to cope with the enormous difficulties of the situation. Successfully to grapple with them would have required a greater and more prudent man than Tommaso Morosini. It must be borne in mind that the Latin civil rulers throughout his patriarchate were for the most part mere adventurers who cared little for the laws of the Church or of the State when their own interests were in the balance. Many, too, of the ecclesiastics who, in response to the invitation of the Pope or of the emperor, came from the West to the new Latin kingdom³ were also but too often men who looked rather to their own advantage than to that of the Church. If the conquering Latins gave Tommaso trouble, the conquered Greeks too were often a thorn in his side.

Innocent
supports
the patri-
arch.

In his efforts to deal with the difficulties which surged up all round him, the patriarch could often count on the support of Innocent. The Pope insisted that foreign

to the heading in Migne. See also xii. 140; xiii. 18 and 19; and *Gesta*, c. 99. In viii. 135 we find the Pope supporting the *Frankish* (as opposed to the Venetian) clergy: "Quia gratiam quam Venetis facimus in majori [viz., in the election of a Venetian patriarch] non decet nos Francis in minori negare." See also ix. 100, and xi. 76.

¹ *Gesta*, c. 100. Cf. xi. 76.

² *Ib.* Benedict arrived in Constantinople about June 1205. Cf. *opp.* viii. 55, 62; and for the terms of the peace, xi. 76.

³ Cf. vii. 164; viii. 62, 70.

prelates visiting the patriarchate should not communicate with persons whom Tommaso had excommunicated,¹ and he called upon the Latin rulers in their own interests to enforce the reasonable sentences which the patriarch passed on contumacious Greeks.² In their jealousy of the Venetians, certain Pisan priests, rather than apply to the patriarch, ventured to confirm certain children. They pleaded papal permission for their conduct; but when the patriarch appealed to Rome, Innocent strictly forbade them to venture to repeat their practice, "for," he said, "confirmation of children belongs only to bishops."³ We find the Pope also insisting that certain monasteries which belonged to the patriarch's immediate jurisdiction, and which had been usurped by laymen or clerics, should be at once restored to him;⁴ ordering the Pisans, Danes, English, and other strangers in Constantinople to pay tithes to him;⁵ and, moreover, himself confirming a sentence of excommunication issued by the patriarch, "because it had been decreed in accordance with right reason."⁶

It may have been noticed that Innocent often qualified his support of Morosini by saying that he sustained him because he had acted "reasonably." The Pope, indeed, was often convinced that Tommaso acted "unreasonably." As we have seen, he had to condemn him for attempting to make "the sanctuary of God" an heirloom by distributing the ecclesiastical positions in his gift to his Venetian countrymen.⁷ But besides regarding some of Tommaso's

Blame also
for Moro-
sini.

¹ Epp. xi. 18-20, 25.

² "Sententiam quam in Græcos rebelles rationabiliter tulerit." Ep. xi. 21.

³ xi. 22.

⁴ xii. 145.

⁵ xi. 24.

⁶ xii. 144. Cf. viii. 153, where he refuses to interfere with Morosini's right to give the pallium to his suffragan archbishops; and ix. 140, where he allows him to quash trifling monetary appeals to Rome.

⁷ Cf. ix. 100.

acts as against reason, Innocent regarded many of them as against prudence. He had on several occasions to remind him that, "on account of the change of government being but recent," he must act with great circumspection,¹ avoid undue haste,² and not embroil the State by interference with the emperor's rights of ecclesiastical patronage.³

If at times Morosini acted against reason and against prudence, Innocent frequently said that he, moreover, acted against his supreme authority; and he had to take occasion to impress upon him that it was by the consent of the Holy See that in course of time Constantinople acquired the second place among the patriarchs, and that it was subject to the See of Rome.⁴ Hence, because in the presence of Peter of Capua, "who was taking my place," Morosini had made various appointments to bishoprics without consulting the legate, Innocent would not annul various ecclesiastical appointments made in Constantinople by the legate without consulting the patriarch.⁵ He insisted, however, that the holders of the said benefices should be subject to Tommaso unless their churches had been legitimately exempted from the patriarch's jurisdiction "before the capture of the royal city."⁶ Nor would the Pope listen to Morosini's request to restore to his jurisdiction the Church of Cyprus. That church was already exempt from the jurisdiction of Constantinople "when it was disobedient to and rebellious against" the Church of Rome.⁷ Moreover, he would not allow him to unite episcopal sees without his special permission; for by so doing he was trenching on the Pope's

¹ Ep. ix. 140, August 2, 1206.

² *Ib.* "In his et aliis cum discretione ac maturitate procedas, impetum et facilitatem evitans."

³ Epp. xi. 16, xii. 115-6.

⁴ Epp. viii. 153, ix. 140, xi. 76.

⁵ ix. 140.

⁶ *Ib.*

⁷ *Ib.*

rights and the emperor's interests.¹ Hence, with regard to the latter, he urged him "not to interfere with the rights of one who does not interfere with yours."² For, as he wrote elsewhere,³ "as we do not want laymen to usurp the rights of clerics, so we do not want clerics to usurp the rights of laymen."

It may be remembered that the papal legate at Constantinople, Peter of Capua, had installed certain clerics in the city without the concurrence of the patriarch, and that, against the patriarch's protest, Innocent had supported the act of his representative. Morosini, seemingly, had not accepted the situation, and had borne heavily on the said clerics, refusing to recognise them. They appealed to Rome, and, by their proctors, made definite charges against the patriarch. They accused him of plundering their churches after their appeal; of even taking a hundred thousand marks from the treasury of St. Sophia; and of annexing part of the money set aside for the proper support of the legate Benedict (*in procurationes ipsius*). They therefore demanded restitution. They further accused the patriarch of disobedience to the Pope in the matter of perpetually appointing only Venetians to important ecclesiastical positions, and of having sworn to continue so to do.⁴

After Innocent had heard the proctors of both parties "in public consistory," he appointed a commission to see that the patriarch made restitution of the money he was accused of confiscating, and abjured the oath he was said to have taken.⁵ If, said the Pope to Morosini himself, the charges against you are well founded, "behold what fruit we have gathered from a fresh tree. Behold how your actions have offended God, outraged the

¹ xii. 117, November 1209.

² xii. 116.

⁴ xi. 76, April 25, 1208.

³ Ep. ix., ap. Hampe, p. 556.

⁵ Epp. xi. 76-79, April 1208.

More serious blame for Morosini, 1208.

Apostolic See, injured ecclesiastical liberty, and, in the eyes of kings and peoples, brought disgrace upon the whole Church."¹

Morosini's
partial
justifica-
tion.

The finding of the commission, however, was on the whole favourable to the patriarch.² Their rather wordy and at times obscure report was issued in the names of three suffragan bishops of Heraclea, viz., the bishops of Selymbria, Panium (Panidensis), and Gallipoli. The bishops began by saying that they knew that it was the Pope's wish that justice should not be wanting to any one, and that they were aware that it would not be wise for any one to do the Pope's work carelessly. They then proceeded to show that the patriarch had been calumniated in the matter of the clerical appointments. They urged that he had received the Pope's letters with the greatest respect, and that, with their aid and that of others, he had endeavoured to ascertain their exact import and to act in accordance with it. He had, moreover, in presence of the clergy of the city, declared: "Brethren, as an obedient son I desire to be ever faithful and devoted to the commands of the Apostolic See and to the lord Pope Innocent, and never from any cause to cease to be submissive to him."³ He then, as the commissioners declared, unfolded to the assembled clergy in all simplicity what exactly under pressure he had promised the Venetians. He had sworn, he said, not to accept any one as a canon of St. Sophia unless he were

¹ Ep. xi. 76.

² Inter epp. Innocent, xii. 105. This document has escaped the notice of Luchaire among others, no doubt because it is entitled in Migne "*De negotio terræ sanctæ*," with which it has nothing to do. It was issued about the close of 1209.

³ "*Fratres, tanquam filius obedientiæ, utpote qui præceptis sedis apostolicæ dominoque meo P. Innocentio cupio semper esse fidelis et devotus existere, et ab ejus obedientia pro nulla causa quandoque divertere,*" etc. xii. 105.

a Venetian and would take a similar oath. He had, however, he said, only made this promise "saving the obedience he owed to the Apostolic See and the oath he had taken to the lord Pope Innocent," and saving any special order that Innocent or his successors might give him on this matter. He had also promised, he continued, to strive that "throughout all Romania" no one but a Venetian should be made an archbishop.

When he had made this confession, proceeded the report, he solemnly abjured his oath, and made the canons also abjure those he had forced them to take. He next recognised all those as canons whom the Pope had ordered him to receive.

Also before the whole clergy he declared that, instead of a hundred thousand marks, he had, in the presence of the canons and with their knowledge, not taken even eighteen thousand marks from the treasury of St. Sophia. Finally, concluded the commissioners, he had just as publicly proved that he was guiltless of having deprived the legate of any "procuration" that was his due.

With the verdict of his commissioners Innocent was no doubt content; but with the money transactions of their patriarch his clergy do not appear to have continued to be content. Again were there complaints to Rome, and again had Innocent to issue instructions to commissioners to see that Tommaso paid certain sums to the clergy "if their contentions were well founded."¹

From a letter of Innocent dated August 5, 1211,² we learn that Morosini was no more. Some six years previously the Pope had laid down the manner in which his successor was to be elected. All the heads of religious houses³ (*conventualium ecclesiarum*) had to meet in the

Morosini,
death of,
and a dis-
puted elec-
tion, 1211.

¹ Ep. xiii. 44, April 1209.

² Ep. xiv. 97.

³ Like the city in which I live, Constantinople was once a regular "Monkchester."

great church of St. Sophia along with the canons of the cathedral. The new patriarch was then to be chosen by the unanimous vote of this assembly, or by the vote of its "greater and more respectable portion."¹

From what has been already said of the jealousy between the Venetians and the Franks, a disputed election might have been anticipated. Surrounded by an armed band of their countrymen who established themselves in the cathedral and threatened death or mutilation to such as should oppose the election of the Venetians, a section of the Venetian canons elected their dean. The rest of the electors appealed to Rome, and begged the Pope to select one of the three whose names they presented to him, viz., the bishop of Cremona, Cardinal Peter, or Master Robert de Courçon or Curzon, a canon of Paris. Owing, however, to the uncanonical nature of the proceedings, Innocent ordered a new election altogether.² Unfortunately, the factious feelings continued. A fresh election again only resulted in the election of rival candidates; and the Pope sent first his notary Maximus³ and then the legate Pelagius⁴ to administer the patriarchate and to strive for the settlement of the election.⁵ The final candidates, the archbishop of Heraclea and the parish priest of St. Paul's *de Venetiis*, came to Rome at the time of the Lateran Council (1215) to plead their respective causes. Regarding it as the best way out of this interminable trouble, Innocent for the second time set aside the rival candidates, and put an end to the

¹ Ep. viii. 64, probably May 1205, edited by Delisle, p. 409. "De unanimi consensu omnium vel majoris et sanioris partis eorum electio . . . celebretur."

² Ep. xiv. 97, August 5, 1211. Cf. xv. 156.

³ Ep. xv. 153-6, August 1212. Ep. 156 gives the greatest details of the continued election disagreements. Cf. xvi. 91, August 1213.

⁴ Cardinal-bishop of Albano. Cf. ep. xvi. 104-6, August 1213.

⁵ Cf. xvi. 112.

four years' dispute by the nomination of the Tuscan priest Gervase.¹

As we have already had occasion to note, when Innocent heard of the outrageous conduct of the Crusaders at the capture of Constantinople, he expressed a strong fear that they had destroyed the possibility of unity between the Greek and the Latin Churches. He was not, however, the man to let things drift. For, as he wrote,² now that the Empire has been transferred from the Greeks to the Latins, the rights and customs of the Church (*ritus sacerdotii*) must also be transferred, so that Ephraim, having returned to the land of Juda may, after the expulsion of the old leaven, be nourished with the azymes of sincerity and truth. "In order, therefore, that the Greek Church may be thoroughly instructed in piety (*devotione*) and in the purity of the faith, according to the institutions of the holy Roman Church, . . . we, who have the care of all the churches, and whom in the person of Blessed Peter the Lord commanded to feed His sheep, wishing to visit that Church in person as it is our very special daughter, are unable to do so, inasmuch as we are more than usually overwhelmed by pressing business; and hence we send . . . our beloved son, Benedict, cardinal-priest of St. Susanna. . . . He is a man of great prudence and learning," and will be able to do what is necessary.

By every means in his power, then, did Innocent work

¹ Cf. *Chron. reg. Colon., contin. III.*, an. 1215, p. 237; Potthast, 5201; and Hefele, *Conciles*, viii. 114. Like his predecessor, Gervase had to be called to order by Honorius III. for interfering with the rights both of the emperor and of the Pope. Cf. nos. 20, 340, 986, 1206, etc., ap. *Regest. Hon. III.*, ed. Pressutti. Belin, in his *Hist. de la Latinite de Constantinople*, a very useful work in connection with this subject, gives (p. 85 ff.) a brief account of Gervase and the other Latin patriarchs of Constantinople.

² viii. 55, May 15, 1205.

The relations of the Greek clergy to the new Latin Empire.

with the greatest perseverance to bring about the religious union of the East and the West. Especially did he hope that by issuing conciliatory instructions for the treatment of the Greek clergy he might bring about that union which was so dear to his heart. But though his moderate regulations caused the Greek Church to be "better treated than might have been expected,"¹ they did not heal the wounds which had been caused by a century and a half of schism, and which the violent deeds of the Crusaders had aggravated.

Innocent was, in the first place, naturally most anxious to induce the Greek bishops to accept the new regime, and to return to the sees whence they had fled. He would have them summoned to return not once only but many times (*sæpe*), and he would have sentence of suspension and excommunication issued against them in the hope of forcing them to return, before he would allow their sees to be filled up.² Even then he would not have them degraded, nor were they to be compelled to be anointed (*inungi*, reconsecrated?) when they submitted to Rome.³ Although new Greek bishops were to be consecrated according to the Latin rite,⁴ still Greeks, if loyal to the Pope, were to be nominated for sees where the population was Greek.⁵ On the other hand, the Greeks were not to be compelled to use the Latin rite;⁶ and if Innocent insisted that they must pay tithes,⁷ he would have their rights of ecclesiastical patronage respected,⁸ and would not allow their monastic establishments to be handed over to secular canons if a sufficient

¹ For so we may say of the whole Greek Church what Miller says of the portion of it in Greece proper. *The Latins in the Levant*, p. 71. Cf. Luchaire, iv. p. 244.

² x. 51; ix. 140.

³ xi. 23. Cf. xi. 179, "inungi juxta consuetudinem Latinorum."

⁴ xi. 155, 179.

⁵ ix. 140.

⁶ *Ib.*

⁷ xii. 141.

⁸ xv. 75.

number of regulars, whether Greek or Latin, could be found to keep them up.¹ In fine, not only did he exhort the Franks to send suitable men to bring about the reconciliation of the Greeks,² but he earnestly begged those Greek bishops who had become reconciled to Rome to exert themselves to bring over their brethren.³

Unfortunately, Innocent was not always well represented. Among others who did not at times do justice to their master was the legate Pelagius, who succeeded the amiable Benedict at Constantinople. But it must be borne in mind that what is said against him comes from the pen of a Greek (George Acropolites), who was not exactly his contemporary, for he was only born (1217) after the events we are about to narrate had taken place.⁴ According then to Acropolites there arrived "in the queen of cities" during the reign of the Emperor Henry, whom he praises for his considerate treatment of his countrymen, a prelate, Pelagius by name, "who is called a legate, and who was entrusted with all the papal prerogatives (*προνόμια*). He wore scarlet buskins, and was clad in robes of the same colour. Even the saddle-cloth and bridle of his horse were of the same tint. But he was a man of rough character, and full of insolence, and hence inflicted much misery on the inhabitants of Constantinople.⁵ . . . He compelled all to bow in subjection to old Rome. Monks were imprisoned, priests were cast into chains, and all their churches

The legate
Pelagius.

¹ ix. 140.

² viii. 70.

³ xv. 134-5.

⁴ He was afterwards Grand Logothete, and represented the Greek emperor at the Council of Lyons (†1282). His history (1203-1261) serves as a continuation of that of Nicetas.

⁵ With the description of Pelagius given by George *cf.* that given by Innocent, who calls him: "virum litteratum, providum et honestum, nobis et fratribus nostris charum admodum et acceptum." xvi. 104. But this Portuguese cardinal does not appear to have been very wise in action, and the Chronicle of Ernoul informs us that: "moult i fist de mal." C. 36, p. 417.

were shut up. . . . Moreover, it was necessary to acknowledge the Pope as the first of bishops, and to make mention of his name in solemn services, or die the death.

"Much cast down at this, the chief men of the city went to the emperor and thus addressed him: 'We are men of another race and have another chief priest, and we submit to your power so that you may rule our bodies, but not our souls. We must fight for you in war, but we cannot abandon what we revere and hold sacred. . . . Either then save us from the evils that have come upon us, or permit us to withdraw to our countrymen.' . . . Unwilling to lose so many excellent men, the emperor, against the will of the legate, reopened the churches, set free the monks and priests, and calmed the agitation." Many monks and priests, however, continues the historian, had already betaken themselves to the emperor Theodore Lascaris at Nicæa.¹

No real
union
effected be-
tween the
Churches,

But, despite all the efforts of Innocent, and despite the fact that here and there individual Greeks submitted to Rome, and here and there a group of them, still very little substantial progress was made in the direction of ecclesiastical unity. More harm than good was done to the cause of the reunion of the Greek and the Latin Churches by the Latin capture of Constantinople. Driven on by their blind prepossessions "in favour of their own national prejudices and ecclesiastical practices,"² the Greeks threw away their last chance of social advancement and of ultimate salvation from the power of the Turk in rejecting communion with Rome. "It must be remembered,"

¹ *Annal.*, c. 17, ed. Bonn.

² Finlay, *The Byzantine and Greek Empires*, p. 345. Not all the Greeks, however, were fanatical, as is shown by a very moderate letter to Innocent sent by a number of them begging him to hold an ecumenical council at Constantinople, ap. Luchaire, iv. p. 251 ff.

writes Finlay,¹ "that the papal Church was at this time often actively engaged in defending freedom, in establishing a machinery for the systematic administration of justice to the people, and in impressing men with the full value of fixed laws for the purpose of restraining the abuses of the temporal power of princes. In short, the papal Church was then the great teacher of social and political reform, and those who scorned to listen to its words and study its policy could hardly perceive the changes which time was producing in the Christian world." But the Greeks would have none of the Papacy, and, though they were destined in a few years to recover Constantinople from the Latins, their national prosperity was over, and they were to be devoured piecemeal by the Turk.

Meanwhile, however, Innocent did what he could to help the Latin Empire in its difficulties.² He had not, indeed, approved of its establishment, but he saw that in this instance there was nothing for it but to accept accomplished facts. He did so perhaps the more readily because, at first at any rate, he hoped that the capture of the city would prove advantageous to the Crusades,³ and also to the cause of unity between the Greek and the Latin Churches. Although, with regard to the latter matter, he always feared that the violent seizure of the city would rather retard than accelerate the desired union.

The Pope
strives to
protect the
Latin Em-
pire.

¹ *Ib.*, p. 346.

² The legate Peter had very early absolved the captors of Constantinople from their vow of going to Palestine, "ut ipsam multitudinem ad Constantinopolitani defensionem imperii retineret." He had offered a plenary indulgence to those who remained at Constantinople for a year. Ep. viii. 125, c. July 1205.

³ On the other hand, if the Latins lost "the empire of Romania," there would be an end to succour for the Holy Land. "Si Græci recuperarent imperium Romanicæ, terræ sanctæ succursum pene penitus impedirent." xiii. 184, December 7, 1210.

The Greeks
summon
the Bul-
garians to
their aid.

It was not long before the Latin Empire stood greatly in need of help. The Greeks summoned to their aid Jonitza (Joannisa) or Caloian, king of the Bulgarians and Vlachs¹ (or Wallachians), one of the founders of the second Bulgarian empire. The first Bulgarian empire was brought to an end in 1018 by the Byzantine Emperor Basil II., the Slayer of the Bulgarians. Then, for over a hundred and fifty years, the Bulgars were subject to the Greeks both politically and ecclesiastically. Not many years before the capture of Constantinople by the Latins, the oppressive conduct of the Greek tax-gatherers caused the Bulgarians to rise. They placed themselves under the leadership of the family of Asen, and founded a fresh Bulgarian kingdom,² after having allied themselves to the *Vlachs*, as they were called by the Greeks, or Roumanians as they are called now. These latter were the descendants of Trajan's Dacian colonists, who had been forced by their enemies into the highlands, whence during the twelfth century they had poured down into the plains, and had penetrated even into Greece. Hence in that century Thessaly came to be known as Great Wallachia (Μεγάλη Βλαχία). This second Vlacho-Bulgarian empire lasted from about 1186 to 1398, when, after having passed for a time under Servian domination in 1330, it fell, along with all the

¹ Vlach or Wallach is said to be the same as the Polish *Wloch*, which means "Italian." Caloian (c. 1197-1207) greatly extended the Bulgarian power, but the most prosperous period of the second Bulgarian empire was under John Asen II. (1218-1240). Even Caloian's power extended from the mouths of the Danube to the Struma and the Vardar. Jonitza is spoken of by Villehardouin as "le roi de Blaquie et de Bogrie," and by Robert de Clary as "Jehans li Blaks or Blakis"; and, speaking of his country, he says (c. 64): "Or est Blakie une tere qui est du demaine l'empereur . . ." (and) "est Blakie une moult fort tere, qui toute est enclose d'unnes montaignes, si que on n'i puet entrer ne issir fors un destroit."

² Ep. vii. 127, September 15, 1204.

southern Slav powers, before the destroying hand of the Turks at the terrible battle of Kossovo (1389).¹

Baldwin, who was as brave as a lion, took the field against his enemies, but was overwhelmed by them at Adrianople, and fell into their hands (April 1205). No more is known with certainty of the unfortunate monarch than that, in the words of Innocent, "he ended his days in the enemy's prison."² He was succeeded by his brother, Henry, first as regent, and then, after it seemed certain that his brother was dead, as emperor (August 20, 1206).

Death of
the Em-
peror
Baldwin
1205.

One of the first acts of the regent, who proved himself a most capable ruler, was to inform Innocent of the disaster which had so soon overtaken the new Empire, and to implore his assistance. Writing from the famous old palace of Blachernæ, and signing himself "the moderator of the Empire," he told the Pope of the rebellion of the Greeks, "ever prone, from their innate malice and wonted perfidy, to be traitors," of their alliance with Jonitza, "the lord of the Blachi," and of the capture of his brother. He went on to say that intercepted letters, which he is forwarding along with a translation "to your apostleship," prove that Jonitza is forming alliances "with the Turks and the other enemies of the Cross of Christ." As "their father, as the patron of their cause, and as their lord," it behoves the Pope to take cognisance of their difficulties, the more so because it is "the general view of all the Christians living in the East" and especially of the Knights Templars and of the Hospitallers, that on the maintenance

The new
ruler,
Henry,
begs the
Pope's
help.

¹ While we are writing this, the Bulgarians and Servians are wiping out this defeat by even more terrible defeats inflicted on the Turks (October–November 1912).

² ix. 199, December 11, 1206. Cf. Robert de Clary. "Si fu perdis li empereres que on ne seut onques que il devint." C. 112. See also epp. of Baldwin's brother Henry, inter epp. Inn., viii. 131, and ap. *Gesta*, c. 106.

of the Latin Empire depend both the liberation of the Holy Land and the unity of the Church. "Realising, therefore, as we have done from the very beginning, that we are of ourselves incapable of accomplishing this great work, we turn . . . to you as to the greatest and chiefest, nay, as to the only refuge and foundation of our hopes." We are giving our lives for the Roman Church, and "we know that we are closely bound to your paternity and you to us as your soldiers, and as men in the service of the Roman Church." Henry brought his earnest appeal to an end by imploring the Pope to rouse the West to march to the assistance of the new Empire, by offering the same indulgences to those who came to its help as to those "who spent a whole year in Syria in the service of the Crucified."¹

A second
appeal of
Henry to
Rome.

To this epistle Innocent sent a hurried answer² urging Henry to make peace at once "with our most beloved son Caloian, king of the Bulgarians and Bla(n)chi." Then he set to work to induce both those already in the East,³ and others who were leaving Europe, to take up vigorously the protection of the Latin Empire in the interests of the Holy Land.⁴

About the same time he wrote to Caloian himself to urge him by the favour he had done him in sending him a regal crown,⁵ and by the danger he was in himself from a great army then setting out from the West to Greece, and from the Hungarians, to make peace with the Latins and to liberate Baldwin.⁶ In his reply, however,

¹ Ep. viii. 131, June 5, 1205. Cf. Villehardouin, c. 88.

² viii. 132.

³ viii. 133.

⁴ viii. 130, August 16, 1205. "Cum per Constantinopolitani detentionem imperii . . . pro certo speretur Hierosolymitana provincia liberanda."

⁵ Cf. *supra*, vol. iii. p. 253, and *infra*.

⁶ Ep. viii. 129, July 27–August 16, 1205. He also wrote on the same lines to the archbishop of Ternovo, "primate of the Bulgarians and Blachi."

the Bulgarian king told the Pope that the Latins had spurned the offers of peace which he made them on their capture of Constantinople, and that consequently, under the banner of St. Peter adorned with his keys which he had received from Rome, he had to defend himself against false Crusaders. He could not comply with the Pope's wishes with regard to Baldwin, because he had died in prison.¹

Innocent's zeal for the defence of the new Empire was quickened by another letter from Henry imploring help after a fresh defeat of the Latins at Rossa (January 1206). "To you," wrote Henry, "as to the Father of all, nay, as to our special Father, do we have recourse in the midst of our troubles."² The reply of Innocent was practical. He induced a body of Crusaders to proceed forthwith to Constantinople,³ and he again wrote "to the illustrious king of the Bulgarians," who had meanwhile assured the Pope that he was ready to give his head for him, begging him to make a truce or peace with the Emperor Henry.⁴ Soon after this the vigorous Calojan was murdered, and was succeeded by Boris or Boril, a feeble usurper.

Thereupon Henry, helped by his own energy and talent, and constantly supported by Innocent, who had meanwhile tried to induce Theodore Lascaris, now emperor of Nicæa, to acknowledge his overlordship,⁵ succeeded in making headway against his enemies, and was soon able to report to the Pope a decisive victory over Boris at Philippopolis.⁶ At the same time he de-

¹ *Gesta*, c. 108.

² Ep. ap. *Gesta*, c. 106.

³ Epp. ix. 198-9, December 1206.

⁴ x. 65, May 25, 1207.

⁵ xi. 47, March 17, 1208.

⁶ Inter epp. Inn., xi. 207, September 1208. In this letter he says it was largely due to the Roman Church "ut imperium Romanum nostro potentatui subjaceret," and that he overcame Boril. Cf. Henri de Valenciennes, c. 8.

clared that "unless our territory and empire is guided (*regatur*) by your patronage, it will certainly succumb. . . . We can do nothing without you."

Shortly afterwards, Henry made his Empire secure on the north by marrying Boril's beautiful daughter (1209).¹

Innocent's
(1) political
relations
with the
Latin
Empire.

Henry, the ablest of the Latin rulers of Constantinople, passed the whole of his life in fighting against the internal and external foes of the new Empire, and predeceased Innocent by a few weeks (June 1216).² His declaration, "We can do nothing without you," sums up the Pope's political relations with the Latin Empire. If that unfortunate creation lasted fifty years instead of five, it was due to the sustaining hand of Innocent III.³

The following extracts from two of his letters give us an insight into the spirit, and into some of the ways, in which he gave his support. "We embrace your imperial highness," he said, "in such a spirit of affection that we are filled with an earnest desire to grant your petitions if we can do so with due regard to the honour of God and our own. Wherefore, dearest son in Christ, giving ear to your request, by the authority of these presents we grant your serenity permission to exact fealty for the temporalities (*regalibus*) granted them by you from the archbishops and bishops of your own (immediate) territory, and from such others prelates throughout the Empire as you can exact it without scandal. This we grant on the understanding that the

¹ Rob. de C., cc. 106-108. Burus or Burous, as Robert calls Boril, "avoit une bele fille. . . . Quant li empereres seut que le demisele venoit, si ala encontre lui . . . et puis apres si l'espousa l'empeureur." Cf. Alberic T. F., *Chron.*, 1206, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxiii. p. 886.

² "Henris, qui moult fu boins empereres (c. 116), . . . morut, dont che fu moult grans damages et mout grans pities." Rob. de C., c. 119.

³ Innocent also endeavoured to free Henry from any embarrassments which the clergy might cause him. Cf. x. 120, September 1207.

temporalities are of such a nature that, in return for their like, fealty is wont to be offered to other secular princes."¹

"Supporting you, as a special son of the Apostolic See, with the arms of love, I will never fail you," wrote Innocent to Henry, "but my hand shall help you, and my right arm strengthen you, so that, with the help of God, your enemies may never be able to prevail against you, but you may rather prevail against them."²

If, however, Pope and emperor were in complete agreement on the more important political questions affecting the new Empire, the same cannot be said with reference to the more important ecclesiastical affairs. The conquerors were disposed to regard the rights and property of the Church as the spoils of war, and to act as though it were theirs to deal with them as with the goods and chattels of the conquered state. And so when the leaders of the Crusaders and the Venetians drew up their compact (*instrumentum concordie*), March 1204, before the final seizure of Constantinople, they agreed that as much of the ecclesiastical property of the city should be assigned to the new Latin clergy as would enable them "to live honourably."³ Such an assumption of right over Church property was not likely to be tolerated by Innocent, who, as head of the Church Catholic, regarded all questions of the property of the Church as coming ultimately under his jurisdiction. Hence, when he was

(2) His ecclesiastical relation with it.

¹ xi. 38 and 41. Cf. xii. 114.

² Ep. c., end January 1216, ap. Hampe, p. 561 f. K. Hampe has published some twenty-five previously inedited letters of Innocent III., ap. *Mittheilungen des Instituts für oesterreich. Geschichtsforschung*, xxiii. Band, 4 Heft, Innsbruck, 1902. "Aus verlorenen Registerbänden der Papste Innozenz III. und Innozenz IV."

³ "De possessionibus vero ecclesiarum, tot et tantum clericis et ecclesiis debent provideri, quod honorifice possint vivere et sustentari." Ap. epp. Inn., vii. 205.

asked to confirm the treaty of partition, he made it plain by various letters, addressed to the Doge Dandolo, to the Emperor Baldwin and others, that, as the treaty constantly set forth that all was done "for the honour of the Roman Church," it was impossible for him to confirm the clauses relative to the division of Church property. It must not, he said, be touched until the arrival of the new patriarch; and it was not to be expected that he would confirm what might prove an injustice to the patriarch and to the Church.¹

This determined stand of the Pope brought about a pause in the designs of the Crusading leaders. At last, however, a concordat was arranged between the legate Benedict and the patriarch Tommaso on the one hand, and the regent Henry and his barons on the other (March 1206), which, "considering the necessities of the times," Innocent ordered to be observed.²

The *pagina concordie vel pactionis*, as the Pope calls it, contained various provisions; but the most important one was that the Church was to receive, with certain comparatively small exceptions, a fifteenth of the property outside the walls of Constantinople taken by the Crusaders, as also a fifteenth part of certain dues paid to the State, and the usual tithes from the Latins, and, if "exhortation" can procure them, from the Greeks also.³ Finally, clerics and their property, "according to

¹ vii. 206, January 29, 1205. Cf. ep. 208, February 8. In this letter he says: "Cum hoc [the clause above quoted] igitur attentari non posset sine injuria Creatoris, juramentum super hoc præstitum, illicitum penitus appareret, et posset perjurium potius appellari, nisi, salvo apostolicæ sedis honore, in eodem juramento fuisset abjectum."

² Ep. ix. 142, August 5, 1206. This letter quotes the *Concordat*.

³ "Et, si progressu temporis Ecclesia a Græcis decimas per *exhortationem et admonitionem* acquirere potuerit, per eos [the lay authorities] nullum impedimentum præstabitur." *Ib.* In the division of the spoil into fifteen parts, the monasteries (*claustra*) were not to be counted,

the more liberal custom of France," were to be free from all lay jurisdiction.

But it was one thing to bind the emperor, and quite another to bind men who paid little obedience to anyone. Innocent's registers contain many letters addressed to various more or less independent barons of the empire of Romania, bidding them refrain from seizing ecclesiastical property, usurping different Church rights, and favouring the Greeks at the expense of the Latins, and at the same time ordering them to pay tithes.¹ By degrees, however, a more regular state of things set in, helped considerably by two important concordats at Ravenika. The first was held in May 1210; was approved by Innocent;² and regulated the relations between the Church and the feudal lords of northern Greece. In the presence of the archbishops of Heraclea, Larissa, Athens, Neopatras, and of many bishops, of our historian Geoffrey of Villehardouin, "the marshal of the whole empire of Romania," and of other nobles, it was agreed that all churches and ecclesiastical property generally in the kingdom of Salonika and in all the country up to Corinth should be "entrusted, free from all feudal services, to the Latin patriarch (Tommaso), as representing the Pope. On the other hand, it was stipulated that the clergy, whether Greek or Latin, should pay the old Byzantine *akróstichon*, or land-tax, to the temporal authorities."³ It was not, however, till the year 1223 that this concordat, somewhat amplified (*i.e.*, as they were to be considered as already belonging to the Church. "*Claustra quoque omnia . . . libera erunt Ecclesiæ, nec in quintadecima computanda.*"

The concordats of Ravenika for north and south Greece.

¹ xi. 116 ff., 154, 244-5; xiii. 99-112, 116 ff., 136 f., 151-6, 161 ff., 192; xiv. 94; xv. 77.

² He alludes to it, ep. xvi. 98. Particulars of it have been preserved in a letter of Honorius III. of September 4, 1223, cited in full ap. *P. L.*, t. 216, p. 968 ff.

³ Miller's summary (p. 76) of the terms given in document just cited, ap. pp. 970, 971.

the *resignatio Ravenicæ ampliata*, as the second agreement is described), was accepted for southern Greece at another assembly of Ravenika, and received the approval of Honorius III.¹

Fresh difficulties between Rome and the new Latin Church.

It is not, however, to be supposed that these concordats put an end to all usurpations of ecclesiastical rights even with regard to the matters discussed by their signatories.² Such adventurers as Otho de la Roche, lord of Athens, were not to be easily bound by oaths and treaties. But, of course, not all the points of possible adverse contact between the Church and State could be settled at two or three conferences. Accordingly, we find Innocent having to threaten the Emperor Henry and certain of his barons with ecclesiastical censures, if they persisted in forcing regulations of mortmain.³ Henry, moreover, had also to be urged to punish rather than favour those whose excesses had brought upon themselves the sentence of excommunication.⁴

The Pope's troubles with the clergy in the Latin Empire.

But it was not the lay lords who gave Innocent all the trouble. A great many of his letters are addressed to erring ecclesiastics, many of whom were just as much pure adventurers as the majority of the barons.

Although Innocent exempted certain sees from archiepiscopal jurisdiction,⁵ and, on account of poverty, occasionally allowed a temporary junction of two sees,⁶ he does not appear to have otherwise attempted to alter the organisation of the Byzantine hierarchy as he found it at the time of the capture of the city. At that period

¹ The same document. Cf. Miller, p. 88.

² Hence, on October 31, 1210, Innocent still hears the complaint that the nobles of Achaia "make no difference between the clergy and laity." xiii. 161.

³ xi. 12-13; xiii. 98; xv. 76.

⁴ xv. 74.

⁵ Epp. xv. 55-58.

⁶ xi. 114-5. Cf. xv. 26, where we find the Pope appealing for help for a poverty-stricken bishop.

the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople was limited to Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece, and to a few provinces in the north-west of Asia Minor. But the new Latin patriarchs can never have had much sway in Asia Minor,¹ as the recently founded Greek empire of Nicæa soon deprived the "Franks" of any little hold they had had there. Under the immediate jurisdiction, therefore, of the patriarch of Constantinople were the metropolitan sees of Heraclea (in the province of Europe), Philippopolis (Thrace), Hadrianople (Hæmimontus), and Trajanopolis (Rhodope), with their subject archiepiscopal and episcopal sees. In Macedonia there were Philippi and Thessalonica, in ancient days the seat of the papal vicar of the province of eastern Illyricum. Finally, in Greece the chief sees were, in the north, *Athens, *Larissa, Naupaktos, *Neopatras, *Thebes; and in the south, *i.e.*, in the principality of Achaia, were *Corinth, *Patras,² Lacedæmonia, and Argos, and the island sees of Naxos (for the Cyclades), Corfu, the ancient Corcyra, and Gortyna in Crete. With regard to the *personnel* of these sees, it may be said that Innocent would have touched it as little as the organisation of their sees, if only their bishops would have submitted to Rome.³

The new Latin occupants of some of these sees differed but little in many respects from their lay compeers. Like all feudal potentates, some of them were desirous of freeing themselves from the control of their immediate superior, and of extending their own jurisdiction. Others,

¹ I do not think that any of the letters of Innocent refer to any sees there as subject to the Latin patriarch of Constantinople.

² At least, those sees marked with an asterisk (*) are described in the letters of Innocent as archiepiscopal. On the question of these sees, *cf.* Migne, *Dict. de Géog.*, vol. ii., and Miller, *The Latins, etc.*, pp. 11, 62 f., 68. Over these sees Innocent would have either submissive Greek prelates, or Latins in their stead. *Cf.* xiii. 6.

³ xiii. 6; xv. 134.

like mere adventurers, were anxious to get as much profit as they could out of their dioceses and to do as little as possible for them. Hence came innumerable letters from Innocent, written with the object of promoting ideas of justice and peace¹ among the members of the new hierarchy.

Bishops were urged to obey their archbishops; for it not unfrequently happened that, relying on the secular power or on the unsettled state of the country, certain bishops "refused to render to their ecclesiastical superiors that obedience and reverence which were their due."² Then it was necessary to impress upon many of them, especially upon those in Achaia, where it took longer than in other parts of the new empire to evolve law and order, that they must be content with the already fixed boundaries of their diocese.³ Moreover, in their zeal to defend their real or supposed rights, many of the new hierarchy were disposed to use the spiritual weapon of excommunication much too freely. They must be more chary in its employment.⁴ Again it was the episcopate of Achaia that was mostly at fault, so that the Pope averred that "the new plantation of Latins which the hand of God has transplanted to Achaia seems, in consequence of this recent transplantation, to have less firm roots."⁵

Even the evil of clerical non-residence had struck its roots in Achaia as well as in other parts of the Greek patriarchate; for most, if not all, of the letters addressed

¹ "On rendra cette justice au pape qu'il a employé tous les moyens de maintenir dans cette Église troublée et militante non seulement l'ordre hiérarchique, mais la paix, si nécessaire à la solidité de l'édifice élevé par les Latins." Luchaire, iv. p. 164.

² xi. 189. Cf. the series of letters by which Innocent endeavoured to bring the suffragans, the chapter, etc., of Corinth to a sense of their duty to their bishop. xv. 61-4.

³ xiii. 26.

⁴ xiii. 27; xv. 100.

⁵ xiii. 26.

by Innocent to different ecclesiastical authorities urging them to stop the revenues of those clerics who did not serve their own churches, were addressed to bishops in Achaia, *i.e.*, in the Morea.¹ Among the other prelates addressed on this subject by Innocent was the archbishop of Athens, a see which he had greatly favoured on account of its glorious history.² "The implanting of divine grace (*innovatio gratiæ*) did not cause the glory of the city of Athens to fade away (*antiquari*). In its first foundation it displayed, as it were, the figure of the faith that was to come to it hereafter; for the worship which, in its three divisions, it paid to three false deities it changed at length to worship of the three persons of the true and undivided Trinity.³ It changed, moreover, its zeal for the wisdom of this world into a desire for heavenly wisdom, and the citadel of the most famous Pallas has been humbled to become the seat of the most glorious Mother of the true God; for the city long since acquired the knowledge of Him to whom when unknown it had erected an altar. This city of illustrious name and perfect beauty, at first teaching philosophy, and afterwards instructed in the faith of the apostles, whilst it imbued the poets with literature and then expounded the prophets by means of its literary skill, was known as the mother of the arts, and the city of letters. This city . . . we may call Cariath-sepher; and after Othoniel had reduced it to the rule of Caleb, the latter 'gave him his daughter Axa to wife' (Judges i. 12, 13)."⁴ It was

¹ x. 50; xi. 246-7; xv. 46.

² xi. 238, 244-6, 256.

³ The application of this comparison is not very clear. Gregorovius, it appears, assumes the triple division to have been the Acropolis, the city, and the port; and Rodd thinks the reference may be to the Acropolis dedicated to Athena, the ancient city of Theseus, and the Roman city of Hadrianopolis dedicated to Zeus. *The Princes of Achaia*, i. p. 147, n.

⁴ xi. 256, February 13, 1208.

with his mind full of the glories of Athens, then for the most part passed away, that Innocent confirmed the privileges and property of its see. In a word, it may be said that, as though he had nothing else to occupy his mind, he devoted himself heart and soul to the well-nigh impossible task of introducing into the Eastern Empire new ecclesiastical machinery, and of making it run smoothly.



Monte Mario (Mons Gaudii or Mons Mali).

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